THE STYLE OF HITTITE EPIC AND MYTHOLOGY

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABoT....Ankara Arkeoloji Müzeinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri.

ACEMM... Anatolian Contributions to East Mediterranean Mythology.

AJA.....American Journal of Archeology.

ANET....Ancient Near Eastern Texts.

Bo......Unpublished texts from Boğazköy.

Cat.....Catalogue des Textes Hittites.

HE......Hethitisches Elementarbuch.

HW......Hethitisches Wörterbuch.

JAOS....Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JCS.....Journal of Cuneiform Studies.

JNES....Journal of Near Eastern Studies.

KBo.....Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi.

KIF.....Kleinasiatische Forschungen.

KUB.....Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.

MGK.....Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi.

MHL.....Myths in the Hittite Language.

RAI.....Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale.

RHA.....Revue Hittite et Asianique.

SoU.....Song of Ullikummi.

VBoT....Verstreute Boghazköy-Texte.

ZA......Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.

INTRODUCTION

It is the purpose of this thesis to study the style of Hittite epic and mythology. To date, very little has been done in this area. Practically all the publications have been concerned with the edition, transliteration and translation of the cuneiform texts. The single exception is a brief literary analysis of the "Song of Ullikummi" presented by H. G. Güterbock in the introduction to his transliteration and translation of this myth in the Journal of Cuneiform Studies in 1951 and 1952.

The analysis of the style will be an effort to determine the type and nature of the literary devices used by the Hittite mythographers. Since much of Near Eastern mythology is written in poetic form, it will be important to determine whether the Hittite texts are poetic, prosaic, or a mixture of both. It has often been observed that there are radical differences between the myths of Hattic origin and those of Hurrian origin. An analysis of the form will make it possible to give a more precise definition to these differences. In addition, this study will make it possible to judge the literary quality of the Hittite myths in relation to other mythologies. It will bring out those features which the myths have in common with other literature and those features which are unique to the Hittite myths.

Because the publications of the various myths are scattered throughout numerous books and journal, and because some of the myths have either not been translated at all, or have not been translated in English, I have included summaries and translations of the myths in the first chapter. For the Hattic myths this task was greatly simplified by E. Laroche's recent publication of a collective edition of these myths in transliteration in Revue Hittite et Asianique (1966). Many of my footnote references to these myths are based on this edition.

I wish to express my gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Harry Hoffner, for his patient advice and invaluable suggestions during the progress of this thesis, and to Dr. Cyrus Gordon for making Mediterranean history and literature come to life with color and relevance over the past three years.

CHAPTER I

SURVEY OF THE HITTITE MYTHS

The Hittite myths found in the archives at Boghazköi can be classified according to origin into four basic groups: Hattic, Hurrian, Canaanite and Babylonian. For practical reasons we will not be concerned with the Canaanite and Babylonian Myths for the analysis of style. Only two Canaanite myths have been found in the Hittite language. The one is a story dealing with Elkunirša and Ashertu,[1] and the other is an adventure of Mount Pišaiša.[2] These myths are distinctively Canaanite,[3] and form too brief a body of literature to be included in an analysis of the style of Hittite mythology. The same can be said for the Babylonian myths. Of these there are in the Hittite language a series of fragments of the Epic of Gilgamesh[4] and a fragment of the tale of Sargon entitled "King of Battle".[5] Although, in view of the syncretizing tendency of the Hittites, myths, such as the story of Elkunirsa and Ashertu and the Epic of Gilgamesh may have been an integral part of Hittite mythological literature, a discussion of their impact on the style of Hittite mythology will have to wait until much greater quantities of Babylonian and Canaanite myths are discovered in the Hittite language.

Hattic and Hurrian Mythologies, on the other hand, form

two large and distinct bodies of literature in the Hittite Language.[6] The Ḫattic myths were written down only in connection with rituals. They range from texts in which the ritual elements are incorporated within the myth[7] to texts in which mythological fragments are imbedded in ritual descriptions.[8] In contrast, Güterbock calls the Ḫurrian myths "real literary compositions".[9] Apparently, he means that these myths were written down for the purpose of literature itself, rather than for ritual use. As a preliminary observation, it may be stated that as literary compositions the Ḫurrian myths are of a much higher order than the Ḫattic myths. The so-called Yuzgat Tablet, for example, is simple to the point of being infantile.[10] In contrast, the Ḫurrian epic of Kumarbi reaches a level of sophistication comparable, if not equal, to that of the Enuma Elish. The extent to which this difference in literary quality is true, will become clear later in this paper. A further distinction between Ḫattic and Ḫurrian myths is in the genre of gods with which they deal.[11] In Ḫattic myths the characters are local, chiefly Ḫattic, deities, whereas in the Ḫurrian myths the characters are foreign, chiefly Ḫurrian deities.

The myths of Ḫattic origin fall into two groups. The one may be termed "The disappearing God cycle",[12] a group of myths of which the recurrent theme is the disappearance and return of a god. In the most complete versions of this cycle the disappearing gods are Telipinu and the Stormgod. The myths, "The Sungod and the Ocean"[13] and "Telipinu and the

Ocean"[14] are on the fringes of this cycle. The second group constitutes the two versions of the myth of the Dragon Illuyanka.[15] In addition, there is the short myth in the Hattic language titled, "The Moon Who Fell from Heaven".[16]

By far the largest body of Hurrian myths is the Kumarbi cycle. These myths include the famous Kingship in Heaven[17] and The Song of Ullikummi[18] along with a number of less well known myths. Other Hurrian myths are: The Tale of Appu,[19] The Hunter Kešši,[20] The Cow and the Fisherman,[21] Tales of Gurparanzahu[22] and Istar and the Dragon Hedammu.[23]

This, then, defines in broad terms the body of literature which will be considered. In order to have this body of literature more clearly in mind, I will present in summary the better known myths and in translation the less popular and thus far untranslated myths.

The Myth of the Disappearing God.[24]

The first part of all versions of the Disappearing God Myth is either lost or so fragmentary that it cannot be understood. Apparently Telipinu's anger has been aroused -- the ensuing ritual is designed to "put the lid on" the god's wrath -- and he is so enraged that "he tried to put [his right shoe] on his left foot and his left [shoe on his right foot]."[25] Then disaster strikes. It unfolds in simple, repetitious but bold imagery. The houses are engulfed in a mist which stifles all creation. Telipinu went away, taking along fertility and satiation, and hid himself in the marsh. There is famine and

draught; neither man nor beast conceive and give birth. Even the gods perish from hunger. The Sungod summoned all the gods to council. After eating a banquet which does not satisfy them, they all go off in search for Telipinu. The Sungod sends out the eagle, but his sharp eyes are of no avail. The mighty Stormgod turns to Ḫannaḫanna:[26] "What shall we do? Shall we die of hunger?" The mothergoddess answers: "Do something, Stormgod! Go, you yourself search for Telipinu!" The Stormgod goes off in search for his son, but before long he gives up and sits down, frustrated and desperate. The version in which the Stormgod himself has disappeared has an interesting variant to this episode.[27] The Stormgod's father goes to his (the Stormgod"s) grandfather and says: "Who sinned that the seed perished and everything dried up?" The answer is that he is responsible, and he will be killed if he does not find the Stormgod. The father of the Stormgod brings his troubles to Ḫannaḫanna, who promises to help him in his search, whether he is guilty or not. Then Ḫannaḫanna instructs the Stormgod to summon the bee, whom she will direct to find the Stormgod. Here the story resumes in both the Telipinu and the Stormgod versions with almost verbatum identity. In fact, the two versions are virtually identical in their entirety except for the above episode, with the search by the Stormgod in the one version, and the search by the Stormgod's father in the other. Because in the second version the Stormgod himself was lost, a different character had to be found to do the searching. This substitution

opened the opportunity to expand and vary the episode of the frustrated search by the Stormgod.[28] In the Telipinu version the Stormgod has made at least a feeble attempt at a search. After he has failed, Hannahanna summons the bee. The Stormgod's father does not search himself. Hannahanna summons the bee to do the searching for him. She instructs the bee to sting his hands and feet, to cleanse him by wiping his eyes and his hands with wax and then to bring him back. "What", cries the Stormgod, "all the gods have searched for Telipinu, now do you expect this tiny, small-winged creature to succeed where they failed?" Hannahanna replies: "Enough of that talk, it is going to find him."[29] The bee finds Telipinu, and does as instructed. Telipinu jumps up enraged at being disturbed, when he was hiding. No longer the sulking god who has stifled nature by his absence, he begins a campaign of destruction. Rivers and streams are made to flood, houses are knocked down, and man and beast are destroyed.[30]

The gods are at wits end, and don't know what to do. Someone suggests:[31] "Summon ye a man! Let him ...! With the eagle's wing let him move Telipinu! So he moved him. With the eagle's wing ... they shut ... up ..." Then an entreaty, perhaps by mankind, follows. It consists of a series of supplications designed to soothe Telipinu's wrath. "Here is ointment. Let it anoint the soul of Telipinu. Just as malt and beer flavor are joined together, so let the soul of Telipinu and the affairs of mankind likewise be joined." After a number of variations on this theme, Telipinu, brought

by the wing of the eagle, comes into the presence of Kamrušepa.[32]

The stage is now set for Kamrušepa's ritual of purification. She begins with a sacrifice and then utters a number of statements of analagous magic designed to drive the "anger, rage, malice and fury" out of Telipinu. There is a similar ritual performed by a mortal. It ends with the "locking up" of the wrath of Telipinu. "Down in the dark earth stand bronze pots. Their lids are of lead. Their lockbolts[33] are of iron. Whatever goes in there, comes not out again; it perishes therein. Let the anger, rage, malice and fury of Telipinu be received therein, so that they will not come out again."

Telipinu comes home. The fog lifts; god, man and beast prosper once more, and Telipinu cares for the king and queen with longlasting life and security.[34]

The Disappearance of the Sungod.[35]

In translating this myth I have followed the order presented in a recent edition of the text by E. Laroche.[35] In this edition he has put together two separate, and probably parallel versions of the same myth: KUB XXXVI 44 and VBOT 58, traditionally known as the Yuzgat tablet.[36] KUB XXXVI 44 has about nineteen lines which seem to precede the beginning of the Yuzgat tablet,[37] so that we end up with a somewhat enlarged version of the myth. However, this edition is in poor condition, so that a clear translation is not possible.

The first four lines of the myth are badly broken. We learn only that someone is speaking in the first person, and that the Sungod does something to his child.

["'... the Sungod] I will seize and hide. What can Stormgod do (in retaliation)? I will [...], even though they have begun to praise him.' The daughter of the Sea called from heaven, and the Sea heard her. He placed a jar on his halhaldan.[38] Whenever the Sungod vanishes, he disappears either into the [...] "rich" woods[39] or into the underbrush. [....]"[40]

"The Sea says to the Sungod: 'This is what [I have placed?] for you.' The Sungod came to the Sea in his room and covered the jar with wax; then he placed a bronze lid on it. [He sai]d: 'Let him praise it for me as long as [....] and the sea the [...] of his daughter [....] The [bea]utiful woman to the Stormgod [said: 'Wha]t omen do [your sons] ma[ke?[41] ...] Your sons sa[y ...."] The Stormgod said to his wife [...[42]] 'She said it to me!' (She said:) 'My children, if a man has died, will make him alive again, or if an ox or a sheep has died, they will make it alive again. What kind of omen are your children making? Hahhima[43] has paralyzed the entire land! He has dried up the water. Hahhima is mighty!' He (the Stormgod) says to his brother the Wind: 'The mountain waters, the gardens, the meadows -- let your refreshing (breeze) go forth; do not let him paralyze them!'"

"'The grass, the lands, the cattle, sheep, dogs (and) pigs he paralyzed. But he is [no]t paralyzing the children

(or) the grain in their heart(s). If he were to paralyze them, then he would hold the sheep-fat within them. But he will not paralyze them any more, since whatever there is he has already p[aralyzed'.] She said to the Stormgod: 'This is what has happened [...] The forementioned Hahhima is saying to his father and his mother: 'You will eat and drink this. (And) care nothing for the shepherd or oxherd!' He has paralyzed the land. And the Stormgod isn't (even) aware of it!'"

"The Stormgod sent for the Sungod: 'Go, bring the Sungod!' They went to search for the Sungod, but they do not find him. The Stormgod says: 'In spite of the fact that you did not find him, this body of mine is warm.[44] (So) how can he have perished?' Then he sent out Zababa:[45] 'Go, bring the Sungod!' But Hahhima seized Zababa. (Then he said:) 'Go, summon Lama,[46] for he is paralyzing him (Zababa), and is he (Lama) not a son of the field?'[47] Hahhima seized him too. 'Go, summon Telipinu. He, my important son, cultivates, plows, irrigates the fields and produces grain. [What's] more, he is invulnerable as a rock.'[48] Hahhima seizes him too.

"'Go, summon the Fate deities and Hannahanna. If the former are killed, and even the latter are killed, then Hahhima has entered their door.' Hahhima says to the Stormgod: 'You kill[49] and you throw off [...] . Everything has been killed. Will you hold this same cup no longer? The

brothers of ^{d}Haššimili[50] are (mere) lads.[51] Did Hahhima not seize them?' Nevertheless, the Stormgod summoned them, saying to Hahhima: '(Indeed,) my hands are stuck[52] to the cup; my hands and my feet are held tight.[52] Even if you seize these feet and hands, my eyes you will not seize!'"

"Hahhima says to the Stormgod: 'Do you see your children? [....] I myself will go up to heaven.' [The Stormgod's (?) hands] and feet he revived. [To Hahhima he say]s:..."

Between the above and what follows there is a break of about one hundred lines. When the tablet resumes, there is no mention of Hahhima. In a broken context someone shoots at the Moongod, the city gate is thrust aside, and someone, perhaps the priestess of the following ritual, is speaking about the "word of the gods":

" ...] he turned and shot at the Moon. [ ] He threw ... -ar in the gates. The old men and the old woman [ ]. (A woman) says: 'I am ^{f}Annannaš.[53] [To the left] I [...]...[54], and I did not take them. To the right[55] I [...], and did take the words of the gods.[56] And them[57] I strewed on .... My mouth and my ...[58], and I placed it on top. The ..?..-meat[59]...."

"The words of the gods I have not ruined at all. If Telipinu becomes troublesome to anyone, I will speak the words of the gods and beseech him, so that the Sungod will say: 'Let the words of the gods come to pass.' Then it will be my allocation.

When the Mothergoddess speaks thus, and when you, O Sungod grant a good thing to anyone, let him give you nine sheep, but let whoever is poor give you one sheep."

"(The tablet of) the prayer to the Sungod and Telipinu. It is finished."[60]

A ritual follows in which tables are set for the Sungod and Telipinu. It includes a long list of provisions and supplies and is concluded with the ritual instructions:

"She will provide one table set for the Sungod and one table set for Telipinu. When the god sits down he will finish (the meal) and at night time she will place fire from the fire basin in front of the god. Sweet smelling it will smoke and the old priestess will swear oaths. Three times she will complete it (the ritual?). She will close up the temple and then she will come out. After that she will do nothing on that day."

"When, on the following day, the priestess comes before the god, she will make sweet smoke and swear oaths. Three times she will complete (the ritual). One thick loaf of bread she will break up for the Sungod and place it on the Sungod's table. She will offer to the Sungod a libation of marnuwan, beer, honey and wine. One thick loaf of sweet bread she will break for Telipinu and place on Telipinu's table. Marnuwan, beer, honey and wine she will pour in libation for Telipinu. One he-goat and one sheep she will sacrifice for the Sungod

and Telipinu together."

KUB XXXVI 44 IV contains a duplicate, with minor variations, of the ritual instructions.

The biggest source of puzzlement in this myth is the identity of Hahhima. In the myth, Hahhima is personified as the instigator of the paralysis of all nature, both natural and supernatural. Even the Stormgod is not immune. His hands and feet are immobilized, and his hand seems to be stuck to his drinking cup forever. Hahhima even engages in conversation with the Stormgod. In his taunting address he claims that he plans to invade heaven itself! Gaster renders the name as "Jack Frost".[61] He interprets the phenomena of the myth as representing winter conditions. This is not unreasonable. The rigidity, which invades streams, vegetation, animals, people and gods, could well be a mythological picture of severe frost. It is not surprising that a people, subjected to the extreme winters of the Anatolian plateau, should represent these conditions in their myths.

It is not clear, however, from our text whether Hahhima was viewed as a being, or merely as a phenomenon of nature. It is true that in the myth he is made an actor and even a speaker, but the ensuing ritual does not mention Hahhima at all. I think that we can safely assume, even with a gap of one hundred lines, that the ritual was designed to alleviate the conditions presented in the myth.[62] The myth of Telipinu

has given us a pattern for the combination of Hattian myth and ritual: the presentation of the cause for misfortune (the disappearance of Telipinu), the divine effort to remove the cause (the search directed by the Stormgod and Hannahanna), the divine ritual (the magic entreaty by Kamrušepa) and the human ritual. In the fragments of the myth at hand we are left with the last part of the description of the cause for misfortune, the first part of the divine effort to remove this cause, and the human ritual. In the hundred missing lines there is room for the last part of the divine effort to remove the cause of misfortune, perhaps a struggle between the Stormgod and Hahhima, and a divine ritual. If, then, the extant myth and ritual belong together, it is strange that the objects of the ritual acts are the Sungod and Telipinu, not Hahhima. In the myth, the Sungod has disappeared, his whereabouts known only by the Sea. The efforts at defeating Hahhima are concentrated on various missions to find the Sungod. The candidate most likely to succeed in this mission is Telipinu, the Stormgod's important son, the god who works the fields and makes vegetation flourish. It appears that the Sungod's presence is needed for his warmth. The Stormgod concludes that the Sungod cannot be far away, because his body feels warm. Hence, Hahhima is powerful because the Sungod's warmth is absent. Besides, the DINGIR determinative is not used with hahhima- (although this is true for aruna-, "the sea", as well), so that it was not viewed as a

divine individual. This lends support to the interpretation that the "rigidity" is caused by frost. Hahhima, however, becomes a negative concept, whose strength depends on the presence or absence of the Sungod's warmth. Although he is personified in the myth, the Hittites probably viewed him as a mere phenomenon of nature, caused by the waning winter sun. The ritual is designed, not to persuade Hahhima to depart, but to make the Sungod return. The sacrifices and oaths are prepared for the Sungod, whose warmth is needed, and for Telipinu, the god best qualified to bring him back. On the basis of the existing fragment I conclude that this myth and ritual were used in cases of severe frost, when the lives of animals and even people were imperilled by the cold.

Telipinu and the Ocean.[63]

This short myth, in which the Sea kidnaps the Sungod, could well be connected to the preceding myth, in which the Sea is the only one who knows where the Sungod is. Its translation is as follows:

"Formerly, when the great Se[a]; heaven, earth and mank[ind]. He (the Sea) struggled and brought down the [Sungod of Heaven]. Then he [hid[64]] him."

"In the land (conditions) became b[ad] and ....[65], but no one dared (to go down) to the Sea. The Stormgod called Telipinu, his favorite and first (-born) son."

"'Come now, Telipinu, you yourself [go to the Sea].

Bring back the Sungod of heaven from the Sea.'"

"Telipinu went to the Sea, who was frightened of him and gave his daughter to him. He also handed over to him the Sungod. So Telipinu [brought ba]ck [the Sungod] and the daughter of the Sea from the Sea and the Stormgod kept them with himself."[66]

"The Sea sent for the Stormgod (and said): 'Telipinu, your son, [took] my daughter for his wife and he took her away. Now [what] will you give to me?' The Stormgod said to Hannahanna: 'Lo, the [messenger (?)] came from the Sea. He demanded [the bride-price][67]. Should I give it to him, or should I not give it to him?'"

"Hannahanna said to the Stormgod: 'Give to him this (?) ...' He took for brideship. The thousand which he gave to him, he gave a thousand oxen and a thousand sheep. [ ]"

The rest of the myth is broken off. A short and broken ritual segment follows, but its connection to the myth is doubtful.[68]

The Myth of Illuyanka.[69]

This myth has been translated a number of times,[69] so that only a brief summary is necessary here. There are two versions, the first of which, according to Kella, the priest of the Stormgod of Nerik, is told in this way:[70] "Let the land flourish and enjoy peace; let the land be protected! If it flourishes and enjoys peace, they will celebrate the

Purulli festival."[71]

The Stormgod and the dragon Illuyanka had fought,[72] and the Stormgod was defeated. He summoned the gods to council. The goddess Inara[73] comes to his aid: She begins by preparing a feast for which she prepares food in abundance, including numerous jars of alcoholic drink.[74] Then she goes to the city of Ziggarata to enlist the aid of the mortal Ḫupašiya. "Look", says she, "I am going to do such and such, so devote yourself[75] to me." Ḫupašiya answered: "If[76] I may sleep with you, then I will come and carry out your heart's desire." So he slept with her.

After hiding Ḫupašiya and adorning herself, she invites the dragon and his brood to the feast. They eat and drink until they are too fat and too drunk to return to their lair. Ḫupašiya binds the defenseless dragon, after which the Stormgod kills him.

Now Inara places Ḫupašiya in a house which she built for him on a cliff in the Land of Tarukka,[77] with strict orders not to look out the window while she is away, lest he see his wife and children. After twenty days, Ḫupašiya looks out the window, sees his wife and children, and becomes homesick. When Inara returns, he pleads with her: "Let me go home!" Inara becomes angry, and kills him for his disobedience. The house is destroyed and the Stormgod sowed cress[78] on its ruins.

Inara returns to Kiškilušša. Her house and the flood she places in the hand of the king. Then the text mentions

"the first Purulli festival which we celebrate."

Two more sections follow, badly broken: "Mt. Zaliyanu is first of all [ ]. When in Nerik the rains are granted, a sceptre-man brings out harši bread. When Mt. Zaliyanu asked for rain (or, 'at/for Mt. Zaliyanu he requested rain'), he brings him the [ ] bread." The rest is broken, and a break of about forty lines follows.[79]

The beginning of the second version is lost.[80] In the part we have, Illuyanka has defeated the Stormgod and has taken his heart and eyes. In order to defeat the dragon, therefore, the Stormgod has to retrieve these.

In order to achieve this, he marries a mortal girl. The son born of this union in turn marries the daughter of Illuyanka. The Stormgod instructs the son: "When you go to your wife's house, ask them for (my) heart and eyes." The son does so and brings the items back to his father.

His body restored, the Stormgod returns to the Sea to do battle. When he is about to defeat Illuyanka, his son, who is with the dragon, shouts: "Include me, don't treat me as a friend!" He then kills both Illuyanka and his own son.

The text is broken off with the words: "Thus says Kella, the anointed of the Stormgod of Nerik: When the gods [...."

After a lacuna of about fifteen lines, a text follows which seems to be related to the text at the close of the first version of the myth:

"[No]w the anointed priest(s) make the first gods last

and the last gods first."

"The harvest of ^{d}Zalinu[81] is very great and ^{d}Zalinuiš being his wife, ^{d}Zašḫapuna[81] is great in (the esteem of) the Stormgod of Neriq."

"Thus say the gods to Tuḫputalli,[82] the anointed: 'When we go to the Stormgod of Nerik, where shall we seat ourselves?'"

"Tuḫputalli the anointed said: 'When you sit down on the diorite throne(s) and when the anointed one(s) 'cast lots',[83] the anointed who holds the 'lot' of Zalinu (shall be first (?)). Water will be placed on the diorite throne and he will sit down there.'"

"Then all the gods enter and they 'cast lots'. Of all the gods ^{d}Zašḫapuna of the city of Kaštama is the greatest. Since ^{d}Zalinuiš is his wife and ^{d}Tazzuwaši his concubine, these three people will dwell in the city of Tanipiya."

"Thereafter to the forementioned a tract of land from the king will be handed over. Six units of land, one unit of vineyard, a house and a threshing floor -- (in all) three houses -- , servants and an archive there will be. And to me is the reverence of the god. This I have related."

The Moon Who Fell From Heaven.[84]

This myth, like the myth of Telipinu and the Yuzgat tablet is found in a ritual context. The recitation of the myth is part of the ritual procedure used to ward off a

natural disaster, in this case, the fear-inducing thunder, lightning and rain of the Stormgod. In the Telipinu myth the absence of the god resulted in a general sterility of nature. In the Yuzgat tablet, the absence of the Sungod brought on the reign of cold rigidity. The same cause and effect relationship exists here, although it is not as clear. The moon's falling from heaven somehow induces the Stormgod to send violent thunder, lightning and rain after him. Perhaps it is an expression of the Stormgod's anger, because the Moongod is filled with terror. Although the events of the myth itself are unclear, its place in the ritual certainly makes it the etiological occurrence of the thunderstorm.[85]

The texts which were preserved are organized in three parts.[86] The introduction gives the occasion for the ritual ceremony - the thunderstorm - , lists the materials to be used in the ritual, and closes with the instruction to recite the myth. The myth follows in two languages: the left column is Hattic and the right column Hittite. The ritual itself is given in steps, with specific instructions to be carried out after each event of the storm takes place.

The introduction is given in two separate versions of which only the opening line is identical in both: "When the Stormgod thunders in a terrifying manner, then place in this way ..." A listing of ritual items follows. The text is badly broken, but the list of items is similar to that encountered in the Yuzgat tablet. The main staples used in the ritual

are thick bread and sweet milk. The second version of the introduction closes with these words: "The priest of the Stormgod will break thick bread and offer a libation of fresh milk. Then [he will recite] a[s follows] in the Ḫattic language."

The short myth which follows is designed for recitation. The verbatim repetition and inverted word order of short sentences give it a nursery rhyme quality:

"The Moongod[87] fell from heaven, and he landed on the gate (?).[88] No one saw it [when] he fell. The Stormgod [sent] the rain after him; the rains after him he sent.[85] Fright seized him; panic seized him."

"Ḫapantali went down and placed himself by him. Then he uttered many spells over him."[89]

"Kamrušepa, too, saw what [had fallen] from heaven. She spoke thus: 'The Moongod has fallen from heaven, and he landed on the gate (?). When the Stormgod saw him, he sent the rains after him; the rains after him he sent; the winds after him he sent. Fright seized him; panic seized him. Ḫapantali went and stationed himself beside him. Then he uttered many spells over him.'"

"What are you going to do now that Kamrušepa has left him behind?[90] I am going to drive (something) out of the rock [of] the mountain."[91]

"Let him yelp and let him ... Then let them go, fright and panic. [ ] ... let them dwell there!"

"Heaven [ ] and it did. Then he was afraid. [ ] was afraid. The Stormgod was afraid and he made [ ]. [L]abarna, the king intentionally [ ]. Labarna the king [ ]."

Several sections of the ritual which follows are preserved only in small fragments. The part preserved is a series of ritual acts, each of which is introduced with the phrase EGIR-ŠÚ-ma. At least one of these is lost.

"[Afterwards, he drinks] three times to the two oxen, a wagon and [a spear, (which is) the battle] implement of the Stormgod, and [three] loaves of thick bread he breaks."

"[Afterwards], to the Stormgod's thunders, [lightnings], clouds and rains he drinks three times, and he breaks [three loaves of thick bread]."

"[Afterwards], (to) the fright and panic of the Stormgod he drinks nine times. [Nine (?) (loaves of thick bread)] he breaks. As long as [(the priest of the Stormgod)] keeps on drinking this cup, and does not haluganaizzi,[93] then whoever is taboo, them he puts by themselves at the gate."[94]

"[Afterwards he drinks once (to) the ^{d}7.7.BI[95] of the Stormgod (while) in a standing position, and breaks eleven loaves of thick bread."

"Then the priest of the Stormgod will go into his temple, and offer sacrifices be[fore] the Stormgod of Heaven."

"Tablet One is finished: When [the Stormgod] thunders in a terrifying manner, the priest of the Stormgod will do as

described."

An example of the Stormgod's deployment of his battle array is found in the "Song of Ullikummi."[96] The passage forms a striking parallel to the first two parts of the above ritual, because in it the Stormgods battle implements are the two bulls, Šerriš and Ḫurriš (called Tella in this text), rain, wind, thunder, lightning and carts. The Stormgod instructs Tašmišu, his brother, to prepare him for battle against the stone monster Ullikummi: "Let them mix fodder, [bring out] perfumed oil and anoint the horns of Šeriš. Let them overlay Tella's tail with gold. ... Let them summon the thunderstorms, which break the rocks for ninety 'furlongs', and cover them for eight hundred 'furlongs'. Let them call the rains and the winds. Let them bring forth out of the sleeping-room the lightning which flashes awesomely. Let them bring forth the chariots."

Kingship in Heaven.[97]

This Ḫurrian myth, like the "Song of Ullikummi", is called a song.[98] The proem at the start of the myth is the formula: "Let the important gods listen. Let ^{d}Napšara, ^{d}Minkiš, ^{d}Ammunkiš and ^{d}Ammezzadu[99] listen. Let the father and mother of the gods listen." The formula is repeated for a second group of gods: ^{d}Anu, ^{d}Antu, ^{d}Išḫara, ^{d}Enlil and ^{d}Ninlil.[100]

The body of the myth relates the succession of the throne

of heaven from ^{d}Alalu to ^{d}Anu to ^{d}Kumarbi and to ^{d}Teshub. In former years, when ^{d}Alalu was king of Heaven, ^{d}Anu would wait on him with food and drink. In the ninth year of his reign ^{d}Anu wrests the throne away from him, and ^{d}Alalu flees down to the dark earth. This nine year cycle is repeated with ^{d}Anu and his cupbearer, ^{d}Kumarbi. When ^{d}Kumarbi attacks ^{d}Anu, he flees up to heaven 'like a bird in the sky', but ^{d}Kumarbi rushes after him and manages to seize him by the feet. In victory, he bites off and swallows ^{d}Anu's 'genitals'.[101] At his joyful laughter ^{d}Anu turns and says: "Don't be pleased with yourself. I have placed a heavy[102] burden inside you." ^{d}Anu's genitals have impregnated ^{d}Kumarbi with three gods: the "noble"[102] Stormgod, Aranzaḫ[103] and Tašmišu.[104] ^{d}Anu predicts that his myrth will change to such misery that he will end by striking his head against his mountain.

The rest of column I is badly broken: "When ^{d}Anu stopped speaking, he went up to heaven and hid himself. ^{d}Kumarbi, the wise king, spat out of the mouth. From his mouth he spat sali[va][105] mixed together. That which ^{d}Kumarbi spat up, fell [on] Mt. Ganzura as an awesome god. [^{d}Kumar]bi, infuriated, went to Nipp[ur]. On the lordly chair Kumarbi did not [sit down]. [The months] he is counting off. When the seventh month ca[me ..."

The rest of the column is lost. Columns II-IV are so badly broken that only a conjectural summary is possible. Column II is an elaboration of the pregnancy of ^{d}Kumarbi.

There is a discussion, in which the Stormgod[116] participates from the "womb" of ^{d}Kumarbi, concerning the aperture through which the birth should take place. Of the three places discussed,[107] one is the good place. The unborn Stormgod addresses ^{d}Kumarbi: "Health to you, lord of the wellspring of wisdom! ....The earth will give me its strength; the sky will give me its valor, ^{d}Anu will give me his manhood, ^{d}Kumarbi will give me his wisdom and ^{d}Nara will give me [ ]. His strength, [ ], his nobility and his wisdom he will give me." With these attributes, the Stormgod is to be a worthy candidate for the Kingship of heaven.

The distressed ^{d}Kumarbi goes to ^{d}Ea for help with the birth. He demands: "Give me my son, [so that] I may devour [him] ... The Stormgod [ ] I will devour! ..."[108] He does indeed get something to eat, but what it is, is not clear. The mouth and teeth are mentioned, and he begins to lament.[109]

Next ^{d}Kumarbi asks that the birth be performed by magic: "Let them call and let them [cast a] spell for you on the heroes, lords and cattle. Let the poor men offer sacrifices with memal."[110] As a result the birth of three gods takes place." ... and out of the skull [he wanted to come forth], but they made ^{d}Kumarbi's skull secure,[111] so that the heroic Stormgod came forth from [the good p]lace.[112] ... When [ ] a second place [ ], the river Aranzah[113] came forth. When (he did something) to Kumarbi [ ] like a

woman. When [they brought] Kumarbi to mount Ganzura, [Suwal]iya,[113] the hero came forth. [ ] out of the good place came forth."

Evidently, Column III gives the account of another battle for the throne of heaven, although the extant portion portrays only the preparations, and not the actual battle. Who ^{d}Kumarbi's opponent is, is very uncertain. Three gods mentioned, in broken context, are ^{d}Anu, ^{d}NAM.HÉ[114] and ^{d}Ea, but their exact role in the context is a mystery. After a gap of twenty lines ^{d}Anu lays down a plan to destroy ^{d}Kumarbi. The replacement of ^{d}Kumarbi as king of heaven is indicated by the words: " ... the lord of wisdom ... make him king ...." Apparently, the candidate mentioned is not the newborn Stormgod, for he reacts with anger and says to his bull Seri: " ... they come in battle against (me) ...."

Because of this development, and because ^{d}Ea's name is mentioned at the end of Column IV in the context of a reference to a king, H. Güterbock conjectures that ^{d}Ea finally ends up as king of heaven in our myth.[115] Any conclusion about the outcome of the struggle, however, has to be tentative, since these columns are in an extremely fragmentary condition. It is just as probable that the Stormgod ends up on the throne of heaven in ^{d}Kumarbi's place. The Stormgod is the most important creature with whom ^{d}Kumarbi has been impregnated. The whole development of the plot seems to lead

up to his birth as the event necessary for ^{d}Kumarbi's downfall. If the 'Song of Ullikummi' is to be taken as a sequel to this myth, we do, in fact, find the Stormgod on the throne of heaven. Also, in classical Hittite religion, the Stormgod stands out as the most important god of the pantheon.

In the existing fragment of Column IV (the last eighteen lines), another birth takes place. This time, 'the earth'[116] is pregnant. After the familiar counting of the months, the earth bears two children. The birth is followed by the name giving ceremony, as indicated by the words "the sweet name",[117] but the names are lost in a break. The last intelligible word in the column is 'spindle'.

The tablet closes with a subscript: "The first tablet of the song .... The hand of ^{m}Asha [ ] son of ^{m}[ ], grandson of ^{m}[ ] and of ^{m}[ ], pupil[118] of ^{m}[ ]. This tablet [was] badly damaged , and I, ^{m}Ash[a], have [restored (?)] it."

The most confusing aspect of this myth is the number of births which takes place. In the first column ^{d}Anu predicts that he has impregnated ^{d}Kumarbi with three beings: the Stormgod, the river Aranzah and Tašmišu. At the end of the column, where the text becomes broken, ^{d}Kumarbi's saliva becomes 'mixed' and he spits out an awful god on Mount Ganzura. Then he counts out the months of pregnancy, but who is born is not known, because the column breaks off here.

The second column is entirely devoted to ^{d}Kumarbi's giving birth to the three beings within him. After a discussion as to the right place of exit from ^{d}Kumarbi's body (the problem is obviously the fact that ^{d}Kumarbi, being a male is not equipped with the natural channel for childbirth), and after the expression of ^{d}Kumarbi's agony and fear, the poor man performs magic and sacrifices on his behalf. Then birth takes place. The 'children' attempt to come out of the skull, the wrong place (the meaning of the word is not known), which is made secure. He gives birth, through 'the right place', to the Stormgod and to the river Aranzah. Then ^{d}Kumarbi is moved to Mount Ganzura, where the hero [Šuwal]iya comes out of the right place. In Column IV the months of pregnancy are counted out again, and two children are born. Although the text is badly damaged, it is clear that the earth is the one giving birth this time. Earth occurs in the nominative case (KI-aš for daganzipaš) immediately before the counting out of the months and before the statement, "he (or she) bore children." It appears that ^{d}Ea is the one who counts out the months[119] and the earth the one who gives birth.

Just how all these births relate to one another is hidden in the breaks of the text. Güterbock[120] suggests that the two children born in Column IV are the two which ^{d}Kumarbi is said to spit out in Column I. This would mean,

then, that Column IV records the births of the river Aranzaḫ and Tašmišu. He draws his conclusion from the fact that in connection with the births of Column IV a spindle is mentioned. Güterbock sees this as a gift for one of the children, which would then be a girl. This would fit the river Aranzaḫ, because rivers in other Hittite texts are considered to be females. However, the context says nothing about the fact that the spindle is a gift. The word stands by itself in a break. In Column I ^{d}Kumarbi spits out 'an awesome god', and not two beings. Moreover, Güterbock does not mention the births of Column II. A more recent interpretation, given by Rudolf Werner,[121] is that the births of Column IV are an entirely different occurrence, and that Columns I and II deal with the same births. He states, in discussing the births of Column II: "Anscheinend ist in diesem Textabschnitt die Rede von der Geburt der drei Götter, Wettergott, Fluss Aranzaḫ und Šuwaliya(t), mit denen Kumarbi geschwängert worden ist. Die in Kol. IV unseres Textes berichtete Geburt muss sich also auf andere Wesen beziehen. Und als "Mutter" für Wettergott und Fluss Aranzaḫ kommt doch wohl nur Kumarbi selbst in Frage, während Šuwaliya vom berg Kanzura geboren wird, was bestens zu den nur fragmentisch erhaltenen Zeilen 40-41 von Kol. I passt. Kumarbi hatte sich also durch sein Ausspeien lediglich des einen der drei Samen entledigen können." This seems to be a more plausible interpretation.

One problem is, that Šuwaliya is said to come forth out of the good place. This implies that he was born by ^{d}Kumarbi, and not by Mt. Ganzura. It is true that ^{d}Kumarbi was moved to Mt. Ganzura especially for this birth. This interpretation also assumes that in Column I ^{d}Kumarbi does not actually spit out the "awesome god", but merely the semen for the god, with which Mt. Ganzura becomes impregnated. Nor does this explain the counting of the months before the break in Column I. Is the birth of the Stormgod recorded twice in the myth? In this discussion we will do well by remembering the words of the scribe at the end, that this text was already "badly damaged" when he copied it. This makes one wonder how clearly the plot of the myth was preserved for the scribe, and to what extent this myth was an integral part of the religious lore of the Hittites.

For the sake of completeness, a related myth should be mentioned: "The Kingship of the god KAL."[122] ^{d}KAL has taken over the kingship of heaven, with ^{d}Ea's approval, by taking the reins and the whip out of the hands of the Stormgod. ^{d}KAL proves to be an unruly and disorder-spreading god, so that ^{d}Ea decides to dispose of him and replace him with someone else. The major significance of this myth is the information which it gives about the god Ea.[123] In this myth at least, he is the one who approves and disposes of the king of heaven. Although his name occurs frequently, the role of ^{d}Ea in the

"Kingship of Heaven" is uncertain, because the context in which he appears, is badly damaged. On the basis of this myth about ^{d}KAL, it may be that ^{d}Ea played a very prominent role in the struggle between ^{d}Kumarbi and his offspring in the "Kingship of Heaven".

The Song of Ullikummi.[124]

This tale is by far the most sophisticated and best developed of all the Hittite myths. Like "Kingship in Heaven", it is either a translation of a Hurrian myth[125] or a Hittite composition drawing heavily on Hurrian sources.[126] It presents a smooth and well worked out plot from Kumarbi's evil plan to Tešub's climactic final victory. The myth has been thoroughly discussed, edited and translated by H. G. Güterbock.[127] Because the myth has been so completely presented in this publication, only a summary of the contents is necessary here.

Although it may not be a direct sequel to "Kingship in Heaven", the action of "The Song of Ullikummi" takes place at a later time in the ascendency of the gods. At this point, the Stormgod (Tešub) is already king of heaven, but Kumarbi, still powerful, designs to retaliate. Therefore, even though Ullikummi stands at the centre of the action, the composer announces in the proem that he will sing of Kumarbi, father of all the gods.[128] Kumarbi sits plotting the overthrow of

the Stormgod in his hometown Urkiš.[129] The plotting is told with poetic foreboding: "a bad day as an evil (thing) he raises" and, "against the Stormgod a rebel he raises."

His evil plans made, Kumarbi gets up and travels from his home to find a rock of huge dimensions. At the sight of the rock he becomes sexually excited and impregnates 'her'. "Five times he took her, [again], ten times he took her."

A section of about thirty seven lines follows, in which the Sea invites Kumarbi to a banquet. With the section connecting this episode to the rest of the story lost, it is difficult to see how it fits into the plot. Leaving it out would have made little difference to the clarity of ensuing developments. It does, however, clarify the situation in the Hurro-Hittite pantheon. Kumarbi does not act simply as an isolated rebel god. It appears here, that the Sea is on his side. We get the picture of an alliance between Kumarbi with his vizier, Mukišanu, and the Sea with his vizier. And later on, when someone is needed to take care of the new-born Ullikummi, the Irširraš appear on Kumarbi's side. Güterbock also lists the Fate deities and "Mother"-goddesses on the side of Kumarbi.[130] This seems to overlook the general function of these goddesses, which may well have been to preside at births.[131] They would have been present at a birth whether the prospective parent was a friendly or a hostile god.

The rock gives birth to the child. The Fate deities

and "Mother"-goddesses lift up the child and place it on Kumarbi's knees. By this reception Kumarbi recognizes Ullikummi as his legitimate child.[132] He begins to rejoice over him and fondle him and then begins to give him his sweet name. This is a standardized formula which is repeated practically verbatim at the birth of Appu's children.[133] (In that case, because the characters are human rather than divine, the midwife takes the place of the Fate deities and "Mother"-goddesses.) After thinking about it, Kumarbi shouts: "From now on[134] let his name be Ullikummi!" The name signifies that he will attain the kingship of heaven for Kumarbi, suppress Kummiya, the city of the Stormgod, utterly defeat the Stormgod himself, snap Tašmišu like a reed, and scatter all the gods from heaven like birds.

Ullikummi, destined for greatness, is now still an infant. What is to be done with one so vulnerable, that the Sungod may not see him, and the Stormgod kill him? Kumarbi decides to entrust the child to the Irširras. They are to take him to the dark earth and place him on Upelluri's shoulder.[135] The Irširras first take the child to Enlil (for a blessing?). Enlil wonders who the child is, and concludes that he must figure in Kumarbi's evil design: "Just as Kumarbi the Stormgod raised, so against him this Kunkunuzzi as 'rebel' he raised."[136] Then the stone monster is planted on the right shoulder of Upelluri, where he grows a "yard"

per day, a "furlong" per month. Soon he stands like an awesome creature, up to his waist in the water, his head reaching up to heaven.

The discovery of Ullikummi is a moment of crisis. The Sungod looks down from heaven, and suddenly he is face to face with the horrible monster.[137] The Sungod, angered by the sight, rushes off to warn the Stormgod of this new threat. Although the Stormgod realizes that he has come on serious business, he invites the Sungod to a meal, in typical epic fashion, before he speaks. The excited Sungod is unable to muster an appetite until after he has blurted out his dreadful news.[138] His mind finally at ease, he enjoys the pleasant repast before returning to his daily rounds.

The Sungod, from his heavenly vantage point, had little trouble in spotting Ullikummi. The almighty Stormgod, on the other hand, bound by the anthropomorphic vision of the myth-maker, had to climb the highest lookout point imaginable -- Mount Ḫazzi --[139] in order to get a look at the stone monster. Hand in hand the Stormgod and Tašmišu go up the mountain, where they are terror-struck by the sight of the stone foe. His sister Ištar finds him sitting down and saying through a torrent of tears: "Who will any longer endure the sight of this one's violence? Who will any longer fight? Who will any longer endure this one's fearfulness?"

Try as she may, Ištar cannot dispel her brother's

discouragement. Taking matters in her own hand, she attacks the monster with feminine wile. She plays musical instruments, sings and adorns herself seductively -- to no avail! A "wave" of the sea rises up and speaks to her: "Before whom are you singing? .... The man is deaf and hears not! His eyes are blind and he sees not!"

Apparently Ištar's words and deeds have shamed the Stormgod out of his cowardice. Tašmišu is ordered to prepare his battle gear. His chariot, drawn by the bulls Sheris and Tella, is outfitted. Thunderstorms, with crushing winds and rains, and lightning with its strong flashes are aroused for action.[140] His ally Aštabi[141] leads a charge of seventy gods on chariots against Ullikummi. Alas! They are defeated and fall into the sea.

Meanwhile, Ullikummi has grown to tremendous size. He now reaches above Kummiya, the Stormgod's home, and has blocked communication between the Stormgod and Ḫebat, who is waiting for news about her husband's battle. She sends out her maid Takiti to bring news of the battle, and at last Tašmišu appears on the tower before Ḫebat with the sad news that her husband will have to give up his rule, at least for the time being. If the palace women had not held onto her, Ḫebat would have fallen off the tower roof from shock.

At the moment when all seems lost, Tašmišu comes up with the excellent advice that they seek help from the god Ea.

So they go to Ea's house in Apšuwa,[142] where, with a great show of respect, they ask Ea for assistance.[143]

Ea's first move is a visit to the god Enlil, but the exact nature of the discussion again remains undisclosed due to the broken nature of this portion of the text. Next, he visits Upelluri. He is amazed to find that Upelluri knows nothing of the stone monster resting on his shoulder. Upelluri states that since heaven and earth were created he has known nothing, and the only thing he knows now is that something is making his right shoulder hurt. Ea turns his shoulder, so that Upelluri gets a look at his burden.

After Ea has appraised the situation he orders the Former Gods to open the ancient storehouse and bring out the very same cutting tool[144] with which heaven and earth were once cut apart. Presumably -- the passage is lost -- Ea uses the tool to cut the base of Ullikummi apart from Upelluri's shoulder.

Finally Tašmišu is able to announce to the Stormgod that Ea has weakened Ullikummi. Take note that this was not Ea's fight. The Stormgod still has to face the monster. Ea has merely given a little impetus to the forces opposing Kumarbi's evil plan. Ea gives the order: "First I struck him, now you go to fight him again!" The news brings general rejoicing in heaven and all the gods like bulls begin to bellow at Ullikummi.

Once more the Stormgod prepares for battle. He jumps

on his cart and thunders down to the sea to face the stone monster. It appears that Ullikummi is not aware of the damage Ea has done to him. He faces the Stormgod with a defiant speech. The picture presented is that of two Homeric combatants engaging in a lengthy dialogue before coming to actual blows.

As was observed above, the fourth tablet recounting this final contest has not been recovered. It can only be assumed that the Stormgod emerges as victor and thus retains his supremacy over his realm in spite of Kumarbi's evil schemes.

The Tale of Appu and his Two Sons.[145]

If the stories summarized above can be called myths in the sense that their major characters are gods, then the tale of Appu can be called a legend in the sense that its major characters are human beings. In general the text is very well preserved. The first six lines are fragmentary, and the ends of columns II and IV are lost. The opening lines form a proem, which, perhaps, states the moral application of the story of Appu. Friedrich summarizes the sense of the proem as follows: "Wenn man gute Menschen in böse Gesellschaft bringt, verdirbt man auch die guten."[146] This is only a guess, based on broken sentences, and does not agree with the story itself, in which a good man appears to prosper in spite of the machinations of an evil man. The translation of the story is

as follows:

"He who *šarkiya*'s the ... -*duš* men, he will *lilak*-[147] evil men like a tree (?), he will keep smiting evil men (like) [148] *šakšakiluš*, and will ruin them."

"(Once) there was a city. Šudul was its name. And next to it the Lulluwayan land was situated on the sea. There was a man up there whose name was Appu. In all the land he was the richest, for his cattle and sheep were numerous. Besides that he had so much gold and lapis lazuli that, if it were heaped up, it would fill a threshing floor. He did not lack a thing. There was, however, one thing he lacked: He had neither son nor daughter. When the elders of Šudul would sit down to eat with him, one would give his son bread and fat meat, and another would give his son to drink, but Appu would give bread to no one. Whatever [offe]nse was concealed, stood before the altar (of the gods)."[149]

"Then Appu got up and went to his house. He went to sleep on the bed in his bedroom with his 'boots' on. The wife of Appu began questioning the house slaves: "He has never been successful (before). Will he be successful now?" The wife went to lie down alongside Appu with her clothes on. Appu purified himself from sexual intercourse.[150] And his wife began to question him: 'You have never been successful. (Do you think) you've been successful this time?' When Appu heard he began to speak to her: 'You are a woman and a female,

so you don't know anything.'"

"Appu got up from his bed, took a white lamb and went down to the Sungod. The Sungod looked down from heaven; he took the shape of a young man, and went toward him. He began to ask him: 'What is your trouble? I will make it right for you.' When Appu heard, he began to say to him: 'The gods have given me good things, so that I lack nothing; but there is one thing I lack: I have no son.' When the Sungod heard, he began to answer him: 'Go, drink and get drunk, go home and have a good[151] sleep with your wife, then the gods will give you a child.'"

"When Appu heard, he went home, and the Sungod went up to heaven. The Stormgod saw the Sungod from three miles off, and he said to his vizier: 'Look, there comes the Sungod, the shepherd of the land.[152] Nowhere are our lands destroyed; nowhere have our cities been carried away captive, and nowhere have our troups been defeated. Command the cook and the cup-bearer to give him to eat and to drink!'"

The rest of column II is fragmentary. From the context it would appear that the Sungod asks the Stormgod to help fulfill Appu's desire. At least, when the text continues with col. IV, Appu's wife has conceived:

"[The wife] of Appu became pregnant. The first month, the second month [went by]; the third month, the fourth month, the fifth month, the sixth month, the seventh month, the

eighth month, the ninth month w[ent by]. When the tenth month came, the wife of Appu bore a son. The midwife took up the child, and set it on Appu's knees. Appu began to rejoice over the son, and began to dandle him, and gave him the sweet[153] name Bad one.[154] 'The gods never take the right way, but they hold to the wrong way, so let him have a bad name.'"

"A second time the wife of Appu became pregnant. The tenth month came, and the woman bore a son. The midwife lifted the child and he gave it a good name. "Let him have a good name. This time the gods have taken the right way, [so] from now on let him have a good name.'"

"The boys grew up and matured, and they reached the time of manhood."

"When the boys had grown up and matured, and when they had reached the time of manhood they [separ]ated from Appu and divided up the household. The bad brother began to say to the good brother: 'Let us separate from each other, and let us live separately.' The good brother to the bad brother began to speak: 'What [do you mean]?' The bad brother to the good brother began to speak: 'Just as the mountains stand separately; just as the rivers flow separately; just as the gods live separately, -- let me expand (this) for you: The Sungod lives in Sippar, but the Moongod lives in Kuzina; the Stormgod lives in Kummiya, but Ištar lives in Nenuwa; Nanaya lives in Kiššina and in Babylon Marduk lives -- so just as

the gods live separately, we likewise will live separately.'"

"The bad brother and the good brother began to divide up the household. The Sungod looked down from heaven as the bad brother took [ ] for himself and gave [ ] to the good brother. (Two lines fragmentary). The bad brother took one good cow, but he gave a bad [ ] cow to the good brother, as the Sungod looked down from heaven. (He said): "From now on let the cow of the good man become healthy; let the cow of the good man conceive!"

The rest of the column is broken off. There is, however, a small fragment[155] which mentions 'the good brother'. It may well give a hint as to how the conflict between the two brothers was resolved:

"But when they reached Sippar, they [ ]. The Sungod exalted the good brother, [and the evil brother] began to [c]urse:[156] 'The Sungod [...] said, not [...] a law suit; let him go and let Ishtar, Nineveh's queen, pass judgment on him!' So they proceded to Nineveh. But when they arrived in Nineveh, and appeared before Ishtar for judgment, Ishtar exalted the good brother."[157]

The Tale of the Cow and the Fisherman.[158]

This story may well be a sequel to the tale of Appu. In the Appu story the Sungod looks after the good brother by making his bad cow thrive. In this story the Sungod impreg-

nates a cow which thrives very greatly. The resultant child-offspring is adopted by a childless fisherman and his wife. In spite of this apparent connection, the two stories are best treated separately. The one forms a unit around the developments in the family of Appu, while the other centers on the strange birth and adoption of a child. It is a strange coincidence that of three legendary tales preserved in the Hittite language too should have a couple's childlessness as a significant part of their themes.

The story of the Cow and the Fisherman is recorded on one tablet, with no parallel fragments in existance. The first partof the tablet contains a hymn to the goddess Ištar, which Friedrich considers as a separate piece of literature,[159] but which Güterbock discusses as the proem of the cow and Fisherman story.[160] Whether there is a connection between the hymn and the legend cannot be determined from the present text. The hymn ends at col. II l. 33 and the legend does not become intelligible until col. II l. 51. The intervening illegible lines hide the answer to the question whether these two pieces are part of one literary whole or have ended up on the same tablet through scribal whim. In addition, the content of the hymn[161] is completely unrelated to the content of the legend. In view of this, the two are best treated separately.

The tale of the cow and the fisherman is in a bad state of preservation. There are a number of gaps and fragmentary

sections. As a result, many details are lost, but the general plot of the story is still intelligible, and several important sections are preserved in detail:

The Sungod looks down from heaven and sees a cow thriving greatly, because it is grazing in a lush meadow. He is seized with desire for the cow,[162] and after changing himself into a young man,[163] he goes down to speak to the cow. He accuses the cow of ruining his meadow by grazing off all its young growth. After a conversation between the two, he impregnates the cow.[164]

When the stylized counting of the months of pregnancy has taken place, the cow gives birth to a child. Here the story is better preserved: "The cow [called up to hea]ven and glowered at the Sungod. She sai[d to the Sungod]: 'I am cry[ing] foul! [A calf] has four legs, why did I bear this one with two legs?' The cow opened her mouth wide like a lion, (as though) she were going to eat the child. The cow stirred itself up like the wave of a torrent and went to kill the boy."

When the Sungod sees what is going on, he snatches the child away from the cow and takes it up to heaven. He entrusts the boy to another god, and commands him to leave the boy in the mountains.[165] He summons various types of birds, eagles and snakes to watch over the child.

After a sizeable break, the fisherman enters into the

story. He comes upon the child, while he is in the mountains on an errand. The birds fly away, high up into the heavens, and the poisonous snakes withdraw. Their job is finished; the child has found a home.

The fisherman fondles and caresses the child, for to him it is an answer to prayer. "The fisherman began to say to himself: 'The gods in some way I have [ ]ed. They have removed the unfavorable bread from the rock. I have appeared before the Sungod and for the sake of the child he has brought me (here). You know me well, O Sungod, that because I have no child, you have brought me (here) on behalf of the child. He who is dear to the Sungod, for him he puts down a go[od] loaf of bread.'"

"The fisherman picked the boy up off the ground, began to rock him and rejoice over him, took him to his bosom, and carried him away. When the fisherman came to the city of Urma, he entered his house and sat down on a stool. The fisherman said to his wife: 'Pay attention to what I have to say to you. Take this child and go into the bedroom, lie down on the bed and scream out, so that the whole city will hear, and they will say as follows: The wife of the fisherman has given birth to a child. One will bring bread, another beer, and another fat meat.'"

"The woman's mind was sharp--she had (once) neglected a command so that [she had been deprived] of the fertility of

the gods, but she had come (again) into obedience--and the command of the man she does not alter[166] (any more). So she listened to the man's command. She entered the bedroom, lay down on the bed and screamed. When the men of the city heard, they began to say: 'Behold, the wife of the fisherman has given birth to a son.' Thus spoke the men of the city and they began to bring (things) to her: One brought bread, and another brought fat meat and beer."

The rest of the tablet is broken off.

The Tale of the Hunter Kešši.[167]

Of this tale, only portions have been preserved. In the first part of the tale the fortunes of Kešši after his marriage to the beautiful Šintalimeni are related. The second part of the story is a series of seven dreams. Unfortunately, the interpretation of these dreams is almost entirely lost. In summary, the story is as follows:

Kešši, the hunter marries Šintalimeni, the beautiful and virtuous sister of Udubšarri. From then on Kešši has eyes only for his wife. He no longer provides the gods with bread offerings and libations of wine, and he doesn't go to the mountains to hunt anymore. His mother accuses him: 'You don't bring me anything anymore.'

Thus rebuked, Kešši picks up his spear, calls his dogs, and goes hunting on Mount Natara. The gods, however,

remembering Kešši's neglect, hide all the game from him. For three months he wanders about, hungry and thirsty, but too proud to return home empty-handed. Then he falls ill, and for three more months he is too sick to return home.[168] He is surrounded by divine beings who threaten to devour him, but he is saved by his 'divine father'.

After a break in the text Kešši's seven dreams are recorded, six of which are preserved, the last three in their entirety. In the second dream a door is mentioned, in the third dream he brings something[169] from Mount Natara and up to Sippar, and servants are doing (?) his work. The next three dreams are better preserved: "A fourth dream he saw: A huge basalt[170] block fell down from heaven and crushed the servants and a man of god. A fifth dream he saw: Kešši's divine fathers began to kindle (or 'fan') a fire. A sixth dream he saw: Kešši -- on his neck a collar was placed, and below a woman's anklet was placed on him.[171] A seventh dream he saw: Kešši went on a lion (hunt), and as he went out through the gate, he found Damnaššara[172] and snakes before the gate."

At daybreak Kešši awakens, returns home, and relates the dreams to his mother. He is desperate and says to her: "How shall we handle this? Shall we go into the mountains, and die in the mountains? Let the [(not)] devour me in the mountains!" In answer, his mother begins to inter-

pret the dreams. A few fragmentary, but unintelligible lines of the interpretation are preserved before the text breaks off completely.

Tales of Gurparanzaḫu

Unfortunately, these tales are preserved only in two broken fragments. The one, known as "Gurparanzaḫu and Tigris,"[173] in its preserved part is a conversation between Gurparanzaḫu and the Tigris (known by its Ḫurrian name, Aranzaḫ). The other appears to be a contest between a number of suitors, including Gurparanzaḫu, for the hand of the daughter of Impakru. It is known as "Gurparanzaḫu and the Bow."[174] Whether these two fragments are part of the same story is not certain. In both Gurparanzaḫu is the major figure, and for both the scene of the action is Aggade. However, in the one the mythological personified Tigris shares the action, while in the other Impakru, his daughter Tatizuli and the seventy heroes play a supporting role. The one appears to be chiefly mythological, while the other is chiefly legendary. However, the episode with the Tigris mentions a girl and a dowry which is given to Gurparanzaḫu, after which there is joy in Aggade. The fragment with the bow is a contest[175] for the hand of the girl Tatizuli. At the end of the fragment, in broken context, it appears that for some reason the marriage between Gurparanzaḫu and the girl is not consummated.

In the episode with the Tigris we find Gurparanzaḫu dejected and weeping. Perhaps the Tigris helps to restore his marriage for him. Although the connection between the two fragments is far from clear, I have summarized the action as follows, beginning with "Gurparanzaḫu and the Bow":

After a hunting expedition,[176] in which Gurparanzaḫu has killed several ferocious animals, the party (including Impakru, Gurparanzaḫu and the heroes) return to Aggade. After a banquet, in which Gurparanzaḫu has the seat of honor among "the sixty kings, the seventy heroes", they ask for bows, quiver and target.[177] "He was shooting, Gurparanzaḫu, and the arrow moves away from him from the bow like a bird. Sixty kings, seventy young men[178] in shooting he defeated.'

The contest over, Impakru goes to bed, and Gurparanzaḫu retires as well. As a symbol of his victory, sweet smelling oil is sprinkled before him, and garments are spread out on his way. He climbs up to the bedchamber by way of a ladder.

The rest of this story is fragmentary. His wife Tatizuli brings up "another matter", which may be an obstacle to the consummation of the marriage.[179]

The fragment of "Gurparanzaḫu and the Tigris" begins with a direct speach. Possibly Gurparanzaḫu addresses the Tigris as "my lord".[180] There is also the phrase, "I will proclaim for you the divine power of my lord..." Mention of a daughter may be a reference to Tatizuli.

The Tigris went forth like an eagle, entered Aggade and perched on a ladder. There he finds Gurparanzaḫu weeping profusely. He asks him: "Why are you weeping? Why are tears flowing from (your) holy eyes?"

In this context heroes are mentioned, reinforcing the thesis that the setting of this episode is the same as the preceding one. The conversation which follows is obscure. The Tigris mentions a father and a mother, and Gurparanzaḫu mentions a girl and a dowry which was given to him.

The two possibly make a plan designed to resolve Gurparanzaḫu's trouble. There is the prospect of joy in Aggade, and Gurparanzaḫu plans to decorate himself. When the Tigris heard the plan he goes forth from his perch like an eagle and goes to the Mothergoddess and the Fate deities. They entertain him at a meal, giving him to eat and to drink one time, two times, up to seven times.

Here the text breaks off. We may assume that the Tigris enlists the aid of the Mothergoddess and the Fate deities, so that presently Gurparanzaḫu's troubles will be over.

Ištar and the dragon Ḫedammu.[181]

This myth has been preserved in various fragments, put together into one story on the basis of their subject matter. The sea-dragon Ḫedammu has a voracious appetite. He is given

various items dipped in water and oil "like an apple for an appetizer. In one main course he eats about two thousand cattle, an uncountable number of kids and lambs, and horses by the thousands. Yet, his appetite is never satisfied. In one instance he grubs a hundred thousand lizards and worms out of the ground.

The goddess Ištar has decided to put an end to this voracious creature. First she uses feminine wile, perhaps to cause Ḫedammu to let down his defenses. Whenever Ḫedammu looked at her body, his desire was aroused. Then she attacks his manhood. In his agony, he wipes out a hundred and thirty cities with his tail; seventy cities are crushed under his squirming belly.

In another attempt Ištar is more subtle. She plans to captivate the creature completely with her charms, so that the deathblow will be easy. She bathes and washes herself, anoints herself with perfumes, and adorns herself, so that "loveliness [and splendor] ran after her like puppies." She goes down to the sea, playing a musical instrument and trying to tempt Ḫedammu and arouse his desire with her nude body. Ḫedammu lifts his head out of the water, and, looking at her, he asks in amazement: "What kind of a deity are you?"

A conversation follows between them. The conquest of the dragon is not recorded, but if we remember that Ištar failed in the seduction of the monster Ullikummi, because

he was unable to see her charms and hear her music, we may assume that she was successful in the case of Hedammu who was very much attracted to her and aroused by her.

CHAPTER II

THE FORM OF HITTITE MYTHOLOGY

The body of literature summarized above is the extent of Hittite mythology and epic literature which has been uncovered to date. It has been treated as a group because it is distinctive in content from other Hittite literature; such as, annals, history, ritual, law and treaties. Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary describes myth as "a story, the origin of which is forgotten, ostensibly historical but usually such as to explain some practice, belief, institution, or natural phenomenon," and mythology as "the collective myths describing the gods of a people, esp. demigods and legendary human beings in stories which involve supernatural elements". These characteristics are readily apparent in the Hittite myths. The Hattic myths are closely connected to ritual practices. By presenting or reciting the primeval, etiological occurrence of a natural disaster in terms of a supernatural event, the stage is set for a certain ritual procedure designed to ward off a specific occurrence of this same disaster. The wrathful disappearance of Telipinu, for example, which resulted in an absence of fertility in

plant, animal and man, sets the stage for a ritual designed at appeasing the wrath of Telipinu, whenever such a natural disaster occurs. The Ḫurrian myths, on the other hand, have a greater affinity to history writing, be it history on a divine rather than a human level. Just as the "Apology of Ḫattušiliš" explains why Ḫattušiliš is king of the Hittite Empire, so "Kingship in Heaven" and "The Song of Ullikummi" explain why the Stormgod is king of the Hittite pantheon. All these stories tell us much of the development and classical expression of the gods in the Hittite pantheon; they are a vital source of information on Hittite religion. Besides the myths, Hittite literature has a few epic or legendary tales: "The Tale of Appu", "The Cow and the Fisherman", and "Kessi the Hunter". The distinction between myth and epic, set up by Dr. C. Gordon for Ugaritic literature, applies as much to Hittite literature: "Ugaritic literature is divisible into two main categories: epics about men and myths about gods. The myths have few, if any, human characters in them; but the epics, while dealing with mortals, portray the gods as dealing with the human <u>dramatis personae</u> and affecting their destiny as in all epic."[1] The myths may contain human characters, but only in a minor role. In the "Myth of the Dragon Illuyankaš" a human being is employed in both versions as an instrument to vanquish the dragon. Conversely, the gods are regularly present in the epics, but, again, only

in supporting roles. In "The Tale of Appu" the Sungod helps the unfortunate couple in the acquisition of offspring, but the plot of the story revolves about the human characters: Appu, his wife, his good son and his evil son. In both epic and myth the realm of the divine and the human, the supernatural and the natural are treated as real without much distinction between them. The emphasis on the divine in myth results in a universal significance and appeal, whereas the emphasis on the human in epic limits the story to a particular situation with limited general application. However, as far as the stories themselves are concerned, the distinction is simply one of emphasis. In relation to other types of literature, Hittite epic and myth together form a distinct body of literature on the basis of similarity in content. For this reason I have grouped them together in this paper under the general term "myth". If any distinctions of style between them become evident in this study they will be so noted.

It is the purpose of this paper to give a descriptive definition of the style in which this distinct body of literature is written. I have divided this discussion of style into a consideration of two categories: form and subject matter. The discussion of form will involve mechanical devices; such as, organization of material, figures of speech, repetition, and rhyme. The study of the subject matter will determine what particular actions, character traits, de-

scriptions, etc. are characteristic of Hittite mythology. An illustration will make the distinction quite clear. Whenever a messenger is dispatched in "The Song of Ullikummi" he takes a staff in his hand and on his feet he puts shoes like the swift winds. From the point of view of form it is important to note that this is a fossilized expression which is repeated whenever a messenger is dispatched, but from the point of view of subject matter it is significant that the staff in hand and shoes like the swift winds are essential items for a speedy departure. In keeping with these two categories, the form of Hittite mythology will be treated in this chapter, and the subject matter in the next.

Practically all of the work done on the Hittite myths to date, by necessity, has been philological. The editing of tablets and isolated fragments into coherent texts, transliteration and translation, along with lexicographical and grammatical refinements, has occupied Hittitologists for the past forty years. The versions of the Telipinu Myth, for example, were edited, transliterated and translated in 1942 by Heinrich Otten in Die Überlieferungen des Telipinu-Mythus. The chief preoccupation was the correct placement and edition of the various fragments. In 1950 Albrecht Götze published a translation of the myth in ANET. However, it was not until 1966 that Emmanuel Laroche published a more definitive edition of the myth in transliteration in RHA 77.

Nevertheless, some work has been done on the style of Hittite mythology, and a summary of this work will be given here.

Theodor Gaster has made some judgments about style, not so much through a detailed analysis of stylistic features, as through a general approach to mythology and translation of myths. Gaster operates from the thesis that all mythology is designed for oral presentation, some for recital[2] and some for dramatic presentation in the course of ritual acts.[3] The recorded myths were kept as source material to be used by priests and reciters "who would, of course, adapt the tale to his particular audience, making additions and omissions at will, and introducing songs at appropriate intervals."[4] In his reconstruction of the stories Gaster takes the liberty to make the additions, omissions and embellishments which he thinks the reciter would have made, drawing for his source material on a network of motifs gleaned from mythologies all over the world.[5] We are not concerned here with the fact that evidence for the oral use of Near Eastern myths, more particularly, Hittite myths, is extremely flimsy, and is proven with nothing more than a bold assertion by the author.[6] What is of concern here is the literary treatment Hittite mythology receives with the author's approach. A case in point is a passage from the Song of Ullikummi:

ḫa-aš-ša-nu-er-an SAL.M[EŠ ...

nu^{D}GUL-šu-uš ^{D}M[AḪ.ḪI.A-uš DUMU-an kar-pí-ir na-an-kan

A-NA ^{D}K]u-m[ar-bi]

gi-nu-wa-aš ha-la-a-i[r ^{D}Ku-mar]-bi-iš-za a-[ši] DUMU.

NITA-an

du-uš-ki-iš-ki-u-wa-an da-a [-iš na] -an ku-un-ke-eš-

ki-u-wa-an d[a-a-iš]

nu ša-ne-ez-zi ŠUM-an [x-x p] é-eš-ki-u-wa-an da-a-iš

^{D}Ku-mar-bi-iš-za PA-NI Z[I-ŠU me-mi-i] š-ki-u-wa-an da-a-iš

ku-it-wa-aš-ši-kán ŠUM-an [te(?)-eh-hi ^{D}]GUL-šu-uš-wa-mu

^{D}MAḪ.ḪI.A-uš

ku-in DUMU-an SUM-ir nu-wa-r[a-as-kan(?)] NÍ.TE-az ar-ḫa

GIŠši-ya-tal

ma-a-an wa-at-ku-ut pa-id-d [u-wa-aš(-ši?)-ša-an

^{D}Ul-li-kum-mi ŠUM-an e-ešdu

nu-wa-ra-aš-kán ne-pí-ši [LUGAL-iz-na]-an-ni

UGU pa-id-du

nu-wa-kán ^{URU}kum-mi-ia-an URU[-an ša-n]e-ez-zi-in

GAM ta-ma-aš-du[7]

The literal translation of this passage is as follows: "The midwives brought him to birth [ ], and the Fate deities and Mother-goddesses picked up the child and placed him on Kumarbi's knees. Kumarbi began to rejoice over his son. He began to fondle him and began to give him a sweet name. Kumarbi said to himself: 'What name shall I put on him, the son whom the Fate deities and Mother-goddesses gave me? He sprang out of the body like a blade. From now

on let his name be Ullikummi! Up to heaven for kingship let him go! And Kummiya, the sweet city, let him press down!'"

Gaster's rendition has quite a different ring: "Long and hard the mountain travailed, until at last there sprang from it a huge boulder shaped like a human babe. At once the goddesses sprang forward to receive it, carried it tenderly to Kumarbi, and placed it upon his knees."

"Kumarbi was beside himself with joy. Taking the child in his arms, he lifted it high into the air and dandled it upon his lap, while he crooned:

'Baby, baby, grow so high,
Till your shoulders touch the sky.
Rock the clouds, and down will fall
Stormgod, storm-god's hosts, and all,
Flitter-flutter, like a bird
Fleeing when its nest is stirred!'"

"But even as he was singing the child stretched out its hand to a vase which was lying on a table nearby, and with a sudden sweep sent it crashing in splinters to the floor. Kumarbi was unperturbed. 'This', thought he, 'is an omen.' And without pause he continued:

'Afterward to Kummi go;
Smite it, raze it, lay it low.'"[8]

The result of Gaster's changes is a much more dramatic style than the original. There is no mention of the mountain's

long and hard labor in the original, nor of the fact that the baby was born in human form. The simile of the birds has been expanded and inserted from a later line. The addition of the child's breaking of the vase as an omen for the name giving completely changes the plot of the story. The fact that the new baby would be an evil and destructive being was planned by Kumarbi, and not a fortunate coincidence. The decision to read Kumarbi's speech as a poem was probably prompted by the morphological end rhyme of these lines (the verbal ending of the third singular imperative, -du). The fact is that these lines are not poetry in the western sense of the word any more than the rest of the text. The end rhyme is probably mere coincidence due to the chain of imperative sentences.[9] To render Kumarbi's serious statement of the coming destruction in the form a nursery rhyme, does not do justice to the Hittite story.

From all this it may be said that Gaster has attempted to recapture the dramatic and poetic style of the Hittite myth. Because he did not pay any attention to Hittite literature itself, but used a fund of comparative folklore and a personal literary flair, he ended up with a story which is no longer distinctively Hittite in style and content. The end result is a story with a dramatic and poetic flavor which should have a great amount of appeal for the modern Western reader. It is unfortunate that a much needed popularization

had to be carried out at the expense of the distinctive elements of style present in Hittite literature.

A much more direct and thorough study of the poetic elements in Hittited myth was conducted by H. G. Güterbock for the "Song of Ullikummi".[10] He reconsiders his previous statement that this story was written in prose because it is in fact called a song (SÌR). His whole investigation is based on the possibility that, as in Ugaritic literature, individual verses do not coincide with the written lines of the text. To realize the proper effect he wrote each syntactical clause as a verse on a separate line, and used normalization rather than transliteration (e.g., watkut rather than wa-at-ku-ut) in order to approximate more closely the Hittite pronunciation and syllabic structure. In addition it was necessary to find Hittite equivalents for Akkadograms and Sumerograms wherever possible. When read aloud, the resultant form came very close to verse. It was difficult, however, to establish a metrical pattern, based on syllable count or word stress, because the exact pronunciation of Hittite is not known.

The majority of the verses proved to be 12 to 17 syllables and 4 stresses, but some were only 4 to 10 syllables long, while others had as many as 22. The verses of different lengths were freely mixed together, without any apparent system, as in Babylonian poetry, where the longer

verses tend to be near the end. The division into stanzas he based on the actual line divisions with which the units are sectioned. With these divisions there were groups of stanzas with 2, 4, 6 and 8 verses per stanza, but other groups had distributions of 3, 5 and 7 verses per stanza. Although there are a few instances of parallelismus membrorum, it is not characteristic of this text as it is of West Semitic literature.[11] Morphological rhyme is used infrequently, and may be coincidental, because it takes place with series of identical verb forms which normally stand at the end of a clause.

Güterbock concludes from his study that the "Song of Ullikummi" is not written in very good verse. This may be due to the limitations of translating the Hurrian originals into Hittite; or it is possible that the Hurrian original was poetry, but was translated into Hittite prose with some of the poetic features unconsciously left in. Because a certain degree of metrical and strophic structure was present in the text the Hittite composer was justified in calling it a "song".

From Güterbock's study it may be said that this myth is not poetry in the strict sense of the word. The labeling of the Hittite text divisions as stanzas resulted in stanza lengths of two to ten verses. It does not appear that deliberate attention was paid to stanza length. It may be,

rather, that the lines in the text mark thought divisions rather than divisions of form. For example, Kumarbi's instructions to hide the newborn Ullikummi breaks up into the following units on the basis of the textual line divisions: he wonders who will help him hide the baby from the gods of heaven; he instructs Impaluri to summon the Irširra-gods; Impaluri travels to the Irširra-gods; he summons them to Kumarbi; Kumarbi instructs them to place the baby on Upelluri's shoulders. On the other hand, the fact that this whole episode was divided up into smaller units could be explained as a stanza division.

Güterbock observes that more definite conclusions about the poetic nature of Hittite mythology will have to wait until more myths are analysed in this way. I feel that with the "Song of Ullikummi" he has selected the most poetic Hittite myth, and analysis of other myths for this purpose will not add much certainty. Rather than attempting to make a decision as to whether Hittite mythology should be called poetry or prose, I plan to study the epic or mythic style of Hittite mythology as such. A study like this will be more definitive, and if, as a result, certain features of the epic style can be labeled poetic or prosaic, so much the better.

Elements of Style

Line Length and Versification

We will begin with a discussion of line length, the unit divisions of the texts and rhyme, because these are the elements which determine most obviously whether the myths are written in a rigidly structured poetic style, in a loosely organized narrative style, or in a combination of the two. Moreover, since these three elements make up the outward form of the texts, they are most easily analysed together.

An analysis of the Hattic myths was disappointing, if one were looking for a uniform structure akin to poetry. These myths are written in a narrative style, with great variation in clause length. Just as in the "Song of Ullikummi", in these myths the text divisions mark off units of content and plot, so that it is not possible to call these units stanzas. There are only several short passages which reveal an attempt at patterning the line length and stanza length into a form of rhyming poetry.

Because little is known about the actual pronunciation of Hittite, I have determined line-length on the basis of syllable count rather than on the basis of primary and secondary stresses. Hittite passages are quoted in transcription with the Hittite equivalent of Akkadograms and Sumerograms substituted wherever possible.

The "Myth of the Dragon Illuyanka" ~~was~~ found to be representative of the Ḫattic myths. A glance at the opening lines[12] disclosed at once that line length is based on a division into clauses, rather than on the way the lines are divided on the tablets. This is the way the lines appear on the tablet:

udni-wa mau šešdu nu-wa udne
paḫšanuwan ešdu nu man
mai šešzi nu EZEN purulliyaš
iyanzi

No definite organization or structure is evident. The four lines are 11, 8, 9 + and 3 syllables respectively in length. If the passageis broken up into clauses, the result is much more satisfying:

udni-wa mau šešdu
nu-wa udne paḫšanuwan ešdu
nu man mai šešzi
nu EZEN purulliyaš iyanzi
"Let the land flourish and enjoy peace,
Let the land be protected!
If the land flourishes and enjoys peace,
They will celebrate the Purulli festival."

A pattern of alternating short and long clauses emerges, 7, 10, 6 and 10 syllables in length. The quatrain has an aabb rhyme pattern: <u>šešdu</u>, <u>ešdu</u>, <u>šešzi</u>, <u>iyanzi</u>. The first

two of these are true rhyme, but the last two are morphological rhyme consisting of the verbal ending -zi. Possibly these four lines have a 3, 4, 3, 4 stress pattern, corresponding to the variation in line length. It is plain that this passage has been consciously structured into a four verse stanza of poetry. That this is true becomes especially evident when it is seen in contrast to the line structure of the rest of the myth.

In the rest of the myth the lines vary in length at random from five to sixteen syllables. The divisions in the text contain from two to six clauses, with two passages of two clauses, five of three, three of four and two of six clauses. The following is a representative sample:

nu Inaraš Hupašiyan pehutet
nan munnait
Inaraš-az unuttat
našta Illuyankan hantešnaz šara kallišta
kaša-wa EZEN-an iyami
nu-wa adanna akuwanna ehu

---

našta Illuyankaš DUMU-šeš šara uwer
nu-za eter ekuer
našta palhan humantan ekuer
ne-za ninker[13]

"Inara brought Hupašiya along and hid him. Inara

adorned herself, and called Illuyanka up out of his lair: 'Behold, I have prepared a feast! Come, eat and drink!'"

"Illuyanka and his children came up. They ate and drank. They drank every jar, so that they became drunk."

In contrast to the first passage this is narrative style, with the length of the clause dependant on the action conveyed by it. A short clause, like, "Inara adorned herself", could easily have been built up with descriptives to make it conform to a desired uniform length. The action is described with simple subject-object-verb sentences. The result is a terse, non-descriptive and non-characterized outline of the action. From these two units it is also evident that the text is divided on the basis of the content. In the first unit Inara invites Illuyanka to the feast which she has prepared, and in the second unit Illuyanka and his brood partake of the feast and get drunk. The first unit is longer than the second simply because it takes more words to tell about the inviting than it does to tell about the eating and drinking. It is better, therefore, to see these line divisions as equivalent to paragraph indentations in English, rather than stanza markers. In the use of the dividing line to indicate a new unit of thought the myths follow the pattern of the prose texts; such as, annals, rituals and festivals.

The second unit of sentences cited is a clear example of morphological end rhyme in the words: uwer, ekuer, ekuer and ninker. This rhyme is the third masculine plural preterit ending, because the subject of each sentence is Illuyanka and his sons. This kind of rhyme is probably coincidental rather than purposeful.[14]

In summary, it is evident that the opening four lines of the myth are written in simple poetry, and the rest of the myth is written in simple narrative prose. Note that this opening quatrain forms an introduction to the myth. It is a general statement for the occasion of the Purulli festival, which is then followed by the narration of the specific account of the first Purulli festival. The introduction is poetic, and the myth is prose. If this myth was recited by a priest on the occasion of the Purulli festival, it is possible that the opening lines were chanted by the priest or by a chorus.

The result of an analysis of the other Hattic myths (The Disappearance of Telipinu, The Disappearance of the Stormgod, Telipinu and the Ocean, The Moon who fell from Heaven, The Reign of Hahhima) was much the same. These myths are written in narrative prose throughout. Only two passages had a more rigid, semi-poetic structure.

The first of these, from the Telipinu myth, is a description of what happened to nature when Telipinu disappeared:

luttauš kammaraš epta
pir tuḫḫuiš epta
ḫašši-ma kalmišaniš wišuriyantati
ištananaš anda šiyuneš wišuriyantati
TUR anda iyantuš wišuriyantati[15]
É.GUD andan GUD-us wišuriyantati
iyantuš-za SILÁ-šin mimmaš
GUD-ma AMAR-šin mimmaš.[16]

The pattern according to line length is two short, four long and two short lines, the short lines having from five to eight syllables, and the long lines from twelve to fifteen syllables. Again, this distribution may be coincidental, and due to the fact that the verb wišuriyantati is four syllables longer than the other verbs in the passage. However, corresponding to the short-long-short pattern of the lines, there is a repetition of the verbs: epta in the first two, mimmaš in the last two, and wišuriyantati in the middle four lines. The patterned line length and repetition of the verbs in this passage constitute a structuring of the form of this passage. Granting that this structuring is not a sophisticated and highly developed literary device, we must still admit that it adds a certain amount of solemnity and foreboding to the list of natural catastrophes.

The other passage is from "The Moon who fell from Heaven":

Armaš-kan[17] nepišaz maušta
naš-kan šer killamni maušta
aušta-man natta kuiški
nu-ši ^{d}U ḫeun appan tarnaš
ḫeuš-a-ši appan tarnaš
eptan naḫšaraz
eptan weritemaš[18]
"The Moongod fell from Heaven
Upon the 'gate' he fell,
But no one saw him.
The Stormgod sent the rains after him;
The rains after him he sent.
Fright seized him;
Panic seized him."

The first five lines are seven to nine syllables, the last two five and six syllables. By itself this means nothing, but in combination with repeated words and phrases and inverted word order, a pattern again emerges. The verbs maušta and epta and the phrase ḫeun appan tarnaš are repeated in parallel clauses. Three clauses, beginning with the verbs aušta and epta have inverted word order. The result is a simple poetic pattern, which, when read aloud gives the effect of a jingle. The passage recounts an event which certainly must have been a calamity. It is therefore probable that this particular structure was supposed to leave a very

serious impression on the audience.

As a result of the study of line length and text division it has become evident that the Hattic myths were written in simple narrative prose, divided into short, coherent paragraphs. There are, however, a few passages in which the use of a more or less fixed line length in combination with devices; such as, simple rhyme, repetition of words and phrases and inverted word order.

The results of a study of unit length and text division in the myths of Hurrian origin was much the same. Güterbock's investigation of "The Song of Ullikummi" has already been mentioned. His conclusion that this myth is not written in very good verse will have to be extended to the other Hurrian myths. In fact, I feel that the use of poetic terminology like versification and stanza length does not at all apply to this literature.

In all the myths clause length varies at random from five to twenty syllables. No conscious effort to limit sentences to a standard length can be detected. "Kingship in Heaven", for example, has two parallel passages, the first of which describes Anu's waiting on Alalu, and the second Kumarbi's waiting on Anu:

Alaluš-šan ŠÚ.A-ki ešzi
daššuš-a-ši Anuš šiyunaš ḫantezziyašmeš piranšet arta
pātaš-ašta kattan ḫinkiškitta

akuwanna-ši-kan GAL-uš kiššari-ši zikkizzi.[19]

Anuš-šan ŠÚ.A-ki ešzi
daššuwaš-ši Kumarbiš KÚ-na peškizzi
pataš-šaš kattan ḫinkiškitta
akuwanna-ši-kan GAL-uš kiššari-ši zikkizzi.[20]

The second passage is almost verbatim repetition with the exception that for the statement "Anu stood before him", the second has: "Kumarbi would give him food", in the second clause. This variation leaves the length of these parallel clauses virtually the same. In the first of these two clauses, however, the author has inserted the epithet "first of the gods" for Anu. If he had been at all conscious of uniform line length, he would have omitted this epithet, or inserted a similar one for Kumarbi in the parallel clause. The Hittite "author", then, was not interested in uniform line length as an element of style. On the contrary, these two parallel passages reveal a certain simplicity of style. The relationship between Kumarbi and Anu is identical to that between Anu and Alalu. Therefore, in describing the second relationship, the "author" takes the easy way out by simply copying what he has written for the first, omitting the part that does not apply, namely, the characterization of Anu.

One passage which does show a certain uniformity of line length is the first column of the story of Appu.[21] With

the exception of a few, all the clauses are short, from six to ten syllables. This passage presents the setting of the story and the description of Appu's predicament. The use of consistently short sentences creates a smooth flowing and clear cut exposition of the elements which are necessary to understand what follows. In the dramatic presentation of the ensuing conceptions, births and actions of the two sons, the story is told with intermixed short and long sentences. The only passage which does actually have uniform line length is, again, a series of repetitious sentences:

man-wa kalmareš man arḫayan ašanzi
man-wa ḫapeš man arḫayan aršanzi
šiyuneš-ya man arḫayan ašanzi
ne-ta uk memaḫḫi
Ištanuš-za Zippiran ešzi
Armaš-ma-za Kuzinan ešzi
Tešupaš-za Kummiyan ešzi
IŠTAR-iš-ma-za Nenuwan ešzi
Nanayaš-ma-za Kiššinan ešzi
Pabilan-ma-za MARDUK-aš ešzi
nu šiyuneš man arḫayan ašanzi
weš-a-za apeniššan arḫayan ešweni.[22]

The evil son presents the good son with an argument as to why they should live separately. The basic argument runs: "Just as the gods live separately, in the same way we should live

separately." He bolsters the argument with a series of illustrations to show that each god lives separately. The argument is given thrust with a series of repetitions.[23] Again, the uniform sentence length of the passage is not deliberate, but coincidental to the repetition of almost identical sentences.

It has become obvious that Hittite mythology is written in a loose narrative style. With the exception of several short passages, which may lend themselves to chanting or recitation, this literature is not cast in a uniform line length and stanza division reminiscent of poetry. Brief examples from Babylonian and Ugaritic poetry will make this abundantly clear.

The poetry of Babylonian mythology is written with rigidly controlled line units. Each written line of the text forms a verse with a definite meter. Two verses are usually joined in a couplet, with the second line forming a parallel, contrast, or supplement to the first.[24] The opening two lines of the Enuma Elish will serve as an example:

enúma/éliš//la nabú/šamámu
šápliš/ámmatum//šúma/la zákrat[25]
"When on high heaven had not been named
(And) below the earth had not been called by name."

Each line is divided into four accent units. The lines are divided in two by a well-marked caesura, and each half line

may again be divided into two separate accent units. The two lines together form a couplet in this case expressing parallel ideas. Although there is no evidence of end rhyme, this formation into couplets may be termed "sense" rhyme.

In contrast, Ugaritic poetry does not match the written lines of the text to individual verses. It does, however, exhibit a clearly marked off unit and parallel structure.[26] The most common form in the Ugaritic myths is a couplet with a unit length of three accented words:

wng . mlk . lbty
rḥq . krt . lḥẓry[27]
"and depart, king, from my house
be distant, Krt, from my court."

bdh . ḫt . tkl
bdh . ḫt . ulmn[28]
"in his hand is the staff of bereavement
in his hand the staff of widowhood."

The contrast between the form of these literatures and Hittite mythology is readily apparent. Babylonian and Ugaritic myths are cast in a form of closely structured lines, uniform in length and number of accents, and clearly divided into stanza units. Hittite mythology exhibits none of this poetic patterning. It is written in a narrative style in which the

economy or abundance of words depends on the thoughts which are being expressed rather than on a desired outward form.

Literary Devices

The devices used in Hittite mythology are: illustrations (similes and metaphors), epithets, repetition, parallelism and direct speech. They will be discussed in this order.

Illustrations

I have listed the similes and metaphors according to the myths in which they occur. This will at once give the distribution of these illustrations in the various myths. It was found that no comparisons occur in the myths of Ḫattic origin,[29] so that the listing will be limited to the Ḫurrian myths.

Kingship in Heaven:

1. Kiššarazza-šit-aš-a ḫuiellait naš piddaiš Anuš MUŠEN-aš nepiši iyanneš[30]
   "He wriggled out of his hand and fled; Anu traveled like a bird in the sky."

2. aššu pedan-šet wašpan man [ ][31]
   "his good place like a garment ..."

The Song of Ullikummi:

3. Kumarbiš-za ḫattatar ištanzani piran daškizzi nu idalun šiwattan ḫuwappan šallanuškizzi[32]
"Kumarbi wisdom unto his mind takes, and a bad day as (for?) evil he raises."

4. Kumarbiš-za ištanzani piran ḫattatar daškizzi nat kunnan man iškariškizzi[33]
"Kumarbi unto his mind wisdom takes, and like a bead he sticks it on."

5. [Kumarbiš-wa-za ištanzani ḫatta] tar piran kunnan man kišan isk[ariskit][34]
"Kumarbi unto (his) mind wisdom like a bead thus stuck."

6. nu-war-aš-kan tueggaz arḫa šiyatal man watkut[35]
"out of the body like a 'blade' he sprang."

7. ^{d}U-an-ma-wa walaḫdu nu-war-an ezzan man arḫa puššaiddu lalakuešan-ma-war-an-kan man padit anda pašiḫaiddu Tašmišun-ma-wa ḫaḫḫarin nattan man arha zaḫreškiddu šiunaš-ma-wa-kan ḫuman-duš nepišaz katta MUŠEN man išḫuwau nu-war-aš dannaruš DUG.KAM-uš man arḫa duwarneškiddu[36]
"The Stormgod let him hit, and like chaff let him pound him, and like an ant with the foot let him crush him! But Tašmišu like a ... reed let him 'break' off! All the gods down from Heaven like birds let him scatter, and like empty vessels let him break them."

8. nu-war-an-kan Upelluriya kunni paltani šiyattal tiyatten[37]
"And on Upelluri's right shoulder like a 'blade' put him!"

9. nu-kan DUMU-an Upelluriya kunni paltani[šiyattal tier][38]
"The child upon Upelluri's right shoulder [like a blade they put.]"

10. Iršir[ruš-ma] DUMU-an karper nu-šmaš-an-kan taggani anda wašpan man tamaššir nan ḫuw[antuš ma]n karpir nan-kan Ellilui genuwaš ḫalair[39]
"The Irširra deities lifted the child, and pressed him to their breast like a garment; like winds they lifted him, and placed him on Enlil's knees."

11. naš-kan aruni genuwaš šiyattal m[an arta]t[40]
"And in the sea on (his) knees like a 'blade' he stood."

12. [kunkunuzziš-ša]n šiyattal le namma artari[41]
"Let the stone (monster) no longer stand like a 'blade'!"

13. nu-kan kunkunuzziš Upelluriya kunni paltani šiyattal mahhan artat[42]
"And the stone (monster) stood on Upelluri's right shoulder like a 'blade'."

14. wetenaz-aš-kan arḫa uit NA_4-aš naš pargašti pi[-] man nu-ši-kan arunaš [ ] išḫuzziyaš pidi wašpaš man anda pedanza maltaniš-aš man karpeškittari NA_4-aš nu-kan

nepiši šer Karimnuš kuntarran-a anda wemiškizzi[43]
"Out of the water he came, the stone, like a ... in height he was, and the sea to the place of the belt like a garment reached. Like a ... he was lifted, the stone, and up in heaven the temples and the 'chamber' he reached."

15. uizzi-ma-war-aš kuedani memiyani nu-wa memiyaš [nakkiš natta-m]a-war-aš arḫa peššiyawaš daššuš-war-aš ḫalluwaiš daššuš[-ma-war-aš] zaḫḫaiš nepišaš-ma-war-aš ḫarnamniyašḫaš utneyaš-ma-war-aš kašza akkatar-a[44]
"The matter about which he comes,the matter is grave, it is not to be cast aside! Strong it is, the struggle, strong it is, the battle! Heaven's uproar it is, the land's hunger and death it is!"

16. [nu-za] ^{d}U-aš dagan ešat nu-ši-kan išḫaḫru para amiyaraš man aršanzi[45]
"And the Stormgod on the ground sat down, and his tears like streams flowed forth."

17. nepiš-[ ] dannaran wašpan ma[n ...]-gannit[46]
"Heaven ... like an empty garment he <u>pushed upward</u>."[47]

18. nu šiuneš ḫumanteš Ullukummiya kunkunuzzi GUD-eš maḫḫan uwayawanzi tier[48]
"And all the gods against Ullukummi, the basalt stone,

began to bellow like bulls."

19. ^{d}U-aš-kan tiyaritaš šara gagaštiyaš man watkut[49]

"The Stormgod jumped on his cart like a ...."

20. INA GIR^{MEŠ}-ŠU-ma-za ^{KUŠ}E.SIR^{HA}-uš liliwanduš ḫuwanduš šarkuit[50]

"He put on his feet shoes like the swift winds."

21. INA GIR^{MEŠ}-ŠU ^{KUŠ}E.SIR^{HA}-uš šarkuit[51]

"He put on his feet shoes." "Like the swift winds" is understood.

The Tale of Appu:

22. ḫuwapaš-a-kan antuḫšuš GIŠ-ru man lilakki ḫuwapuš-a-kan antuḫšaš tarna-šma šakšakiluš wal-ḫannai tuš ḫarnikzi[52]

"He will bend evil men like a tree (?), he will keep smiting evil men on the tarnaš (like) šakšakiluš, and he will ruin them."

23. man-wa kalmareš man arḫayan ašanzi
man-wa hapeš man arḫayan aršanzi
šiyuneš-ya man arḫayan ašanzi
ne-ta uk memaḫḫi

Ištanuš-za Zippiran ešzi
Armaš-ma-za Kuzinan ešzi
Tešupaš-za Kummiyan ešzi

IŠTAR-iš-ma-za Kiššinan ešzi
Pabilan-ma-za MARDUK-aš ešzi
nu šiyuneš man arḫayan ašanzi
weš-a-za apeniššan arḫayan ešweni[53]

The Cow and the Fisherman:

24. GUD-uš UR.MAḪ-aš man aiš arḫa kinut naš DUMU-li adanna paiškitta GUD-uš-za šarḫu [ ] ḫuwanḫueššar man ḫalluwanut naš DUMU-li [kuenumanzi] iyanniš[53]
"The cow opened (her) mouth wide like a lion, (as though) she were going to eat the child. The cow stirred itself up like the wave of a tor[rent](?) and went to kill the boy."

25. I[NA GÌR^{MEŠ}-KA-ma-za l]iliwanza ḫuwanduš šarku[54]
"On your feet put (shoes) like the swift winds."

Gurparanzaḫu and the Bow:

26. nu-ši-kan nataš IŠTU GIŠBAN pariyan MUŠEN-iš man iyattari[55]
"And the arrow went across the bow like a bird."

Gurparanzaḫu and the Tigris:

27. ÍDAranzaḫaš ḫaraš man tarnaš [naš] URUAKKADE andan pait[56]
"The Tigris river took off like an eagle and went into Akkade."

Ištar and the dragon Ḫedammu:

28. nan ^{giš}ḪAŠḪUR man ekunimi pianzi[57]
"They give it like an apple for an 'appetizer'".

29. taknaza para MARŠETTU man [šallanišk]izzi naš-kan weteni [anda tiya]zi[58]
"From the ground he grubs (them) like a flock[59] and in the water he placed (them)."

30. [nuš mi]lit man katta :paškizzi
[nuš Ì.NUN-an m]an lellepai[60]
"Like ḫoney it gulps them down;
like buttermilk it laps[61] them up."

31. aššiyatar-ma-ši [mišriwatar-a] UR.TUR^{MEŠ} man appan ḫuwayandari[62]
"Loveliness and beauty ran after her like puppies."

32. nu-ši ANA GUD.MAḪ maḫḫan [...-zi][63]
"and to him as to a bull she ... s."

33. ammuk-za ^{SAL}Ki.SIKIL ḫart[a ...] nu-mu šarawar man kalmaruš laḫḫurnuzz[i pešta[64]
"A woman had me (as a companion); like a šarawar she gave the mountains to me as an altar."

H. A. Hoffner recently presented a paper on the gram-

matical features of the comparisons which occur in Hittite mythology.[65] What follows is a brief summary of his analysis.

The usual order is: the item compared and the item of comparison and the verb.[66] The item of comparison may be governed by man or mahhan, or may stand alone.[67] It usually is positioned directly before the verb. Those phrases governed by man or mahhan are clearly equivalent to the English simile. When man or mahhan is omitted, however, the translation still has to be rendered with 'like' or 'as'. That the inclusion or omission of man or mahhan makes no difference to the meaning is shown by the fact that the comparison 'like a blade' occurs with man, mahhan and alone.[68] Adverb phrases may precede the item of comparison[69] or stand between the item of comparison and the verb.[70] The item of comparison takes the same case as that compared; this may be nominative,[71] accusative[72] or dative-locative.[73]

The establishment of a set word order for comparisons in a sentence clarifies the translation of one passage in which man or mahhan is omitted.[74] Güterbock translates: "upon his feet as shoes the swift winds he put."[75] Since the words liliwanduš ḫuwanduš occur directly before the verb, they constitute the item of comparison, and the translation should be: "upon his feet he put shoes like the swift winds."

T. B. L. Webster, in discussing the development of the Homeric simile, makes a distinction between the longer simile and the short comparison.[76] He classifies the similes in Eastern poetry of the second millennium as short comparisons of four types.[77] The first "hovers between comparison and identity". For this he cites the example: "He fled; Anu traveled (like) a bird."[78] Apparently he assumes that the omission of a word for "like" weakens the comparative force of the illustration. This may be true, but we have already seen one instance in which the term man or mahhan was used in some and omitted in other examples of the same comparison without change in meaning. The second type is the single-term comparison: "and his tears flowed forth like streams."[79] Practically all the Hittite comparisons fall into this category. The third type is a double-term comparison, in which an analogy is set up for two elements at once. This type does not occur in the Hittite myths.[80] The fourth type is the induction comparison, in which a series of short illustrations are set up to prove or illustrate the same point. The Hittite myths contain one example of this type.[81] When, in the tale of Appu, the bad brother is trying to convince the good brother that they should separate, he lists a series of illustrations to show that just as the mountains, rivers and various gods live in separate locations, so they too should dwell separately. It

should be noted that this comparison is not simply illustrative in force; it is a rhetorical device designed to convince the good brother.

As observed above, almost all the Hittite comparisons are short single-term similes. They serve the function of creating brief illustrations: they are purely descriptive, and add nothing to either characterization or plot. The comparison of Ullikummi to a "blade" is repeated so often and under so many varying circumstances, that 'like a blade' almost becomes a standard epithet for the stone god, losing even the particular descriptive force it must have had in origin. The primitive character of the Hittite simile will be seen most clearly when it is put side by side with the much later[82] Homeric long simile. Take, for example, the description of Achilles mourning for Patroclus.

τοῖσι δὲ Πηλείδης ἀδινοῦ ἐξῆρχε γόνοιο,
χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀνδρόφονους θέμενος στήθεσσιν ἑταίρου,
πυκνὰ μάλα στενάχων ὥς τε λὶς ἠυγένειος,
ᾧ ῥά θ' ὑπὸ σκύμνους ἐλαφηβόλος ἁρπάσῃ ἀνὴρ
ὕλης ἐκ πυκινῆς; ὁ δὲ τ'ἄχνυται ὕστερος ἐλθών.
πολλὰ δέ τ'ἄγκε' ἐπῆλθε μετ' ἀνέρος ἴχνι' ἐρευνῶν,
εἴ πόθεν ἐξεύρα; μάλα γὰρ δριμὺς χόλος αἱρεῖ;
ὥς ὁ βαρὺ στενάχων μετεφώνεε Μυρμιδόνεσσιν.[83]

> "And among them the son of Peleus began the vehement lamentation, laying his man-slaying hands upon the breast of his comrade, uttering many a groan, even as a bearded lion whose whelps some hunter of stags has snatched away from out the thick wood; and the lion coming back thereafter grieves much, and through many a glen he ranges on the track of the footstep of the man, if so be he may anywhere find him. Even so with heavy groaning Achilles spoke among the Myrmidons."

In this simile the single-term comparison has been built up to a four-term comparison to illustrate the feeling of grief Achilles has toward the dead Patroclos and the feeling of wrath he has toward Hector, the slayer of Patroclus. The grief is like that of a lion who has lost her cubs. The wrath is like that of a lion toward a hunter who has killed its cubs. These two double term comparisons are skilfully combined to set up a complicated relationship between three men. It not only adds a colorful description to the narrative, it also explains the next step in the plot development. Achilles vows to track down Hector, and kill him, before he buries Patroclus. This simile is not just illustrative in force, it has been developed into a "working model of the situation"[84] which prepares the audience for

subsequent action. See in contrast to this the short Hittite simile: "And the Stormgod sat down on the ground, and his tears flowed forth like streams."[85] The simile is created with the addition of two words to form a colorful but brief picture of the Stormgod's grief and frustration. It is a short illustration which adds nothing to the development of the narrative. The Homeric simile is typical of a complex and highly detailed literary style. The Hittite simile, on the other hand, represents a literary style in which the plot is developed in a simple, bold, near-outline form.

The Hittite myths have one example of a metaphor which is clearly distinct from the similes discussed above: "The matter about which he comes, the matter is [grave], it is [not] to be cast aside! Strong it is, the struggle, strong it is, the battle! Heaven's uproar it is, the land's hunger and death it is!"[86] When the Sungod rushes to the Stormgod and Tašmišu with the news that he has sighted the stone monster Ullikummi, Tašmišu perceives that he is bringing serious news. He states that the matter about which the Sungod is approaching must be serious. In so doing he compares the serious matter to a struggle, a battle, heaven's uproar and the land's hunger and death. The equation is not set up with the use of similes, but by means of identity, metaphors. The device expresses the emotional reaction of

Tašmišu. He fears the worst! At the same time it expresses a foreboding of the dreadful battle which is still to follow. Hence the metaphor becomes a significant part of the plot. It creates suspense for the audience with a forecast of the struggle between the Stormgod and Ullikummi which lies ahead.

In comparing the literary style of Ḫattic and Ḫurrian mythology, it is significant that all the comparisons occur in the myths of Ḫurrian origin. Although we have noted that all the comparisons are extremely simple, this puts the Ḫurrian myths on a higher literary level than the Ḫattic myths. Within the Ḫurrian myths, by far the majority of the illustrations occur in the Song of Ullikummi. This, however, may be due only to the fact that this myth is much longer than the others.

It is striking that, even though comparisons are not found in the Ḫattic myths, use is made in their context of a functional simile or analogic magic. A whole series of these devices occur in the ritual of Kamrušepa which is designed to abate the wrath of Telipinu. They all follow this format:

kaša ^{giš}MA kitta nu ^{giš}MA maḫḫan milliddu Ù ŠA ^{d}Telipinu ZI-KA QATAMMA militeštu ^{giš}ZER-TUM-maz maḫḫan YÀ-ŠU ŠÀ-it ḫarzi ^{giš}GEŠTIN-maz maḫḫan GEŠTIN-an ŠÀ-it ḫarzi zikka ^{d}Telibinu ištanzanit ŠÀ-it QATAMMA aššu ḫarak[87].

"Behold, here lie figs. Just as figs are sweet, so let

the heart of Telipinu likewise be sweet. Just as the olive holds oil within it and just as the grape holds wine within it, so let your heart, O Telipinu, likewise hold goodness within your soul."

This analogic magic is very similar in form to the argument which the bad brother presented to the good brother in the Tale of Appu: "Just as the gods live separately, so let us likewise dwell separately." It may well be that this argument is actually patterned after, and has its origin in, analogic magic, and that, because of its form, it was considered to have magical force of its own. In other words, the bad brother may have used his analogies to cast a spell over the good brother, so that he was forced by this means to agree to the separation.

It is tempting to speculate that the short similes of the Ḫurrian myths have their origin in analogic magic. Such a conclusion, however, is not warranted by the evidence of the texts. The Ḫattic myths, while making use of analogic magic, contain no short similes. The Ḫurrian myths, while making frequent use of short similes, contain no clear examples of analogic magic. It is true that many of the Ḫattic myths were written down in connection with magical and ritual procedures, while the Ḫurrian myths do not have this kind of context, so that one would not expect to find analogic magic

as a device in Hurrian mythology. If there were a connection between the two devices, however, one would expect the short simile to occur frequently in the Hattic myths. The fact is, it does not occur in them at all.

Attributive Adjectives and Epithets

The Hittite myths contain a liberal sprinkling of attributive adjectives, although they are not so frequent that one would label the style of the myths descriptive. In fact, about a third of these adjectives are purely functional, being either essential for the correct meaning of the noun they qualify, or necessary for a true understanding of the plot. The expression DINGIR^{MEŠ} GAL.GAL DINGIR^{MEŠ} TUR,[88] "the greater gods and the lesser gods", is a merism[89] which stresses the fact that all the gods have searched for Telipinu and failed. Now will one little bee succeed in finding him? The same may be true for the phrase EGIR-izziuš-a hantezziuš DINGIR^{MEŠ}-uš,[90] "the earlier and the later gods", although this occurs in a difficult context. GAL-iš arunaš,[91] "the great Sea," designates a specific body of water, perhaps the Mediterranean. dankuwai takni[92] and dankuwai dagan-zipi,[93] "to the dark earth" may refer to the netherworld in distinction from the earth's surface as the place where Alalu fled from the attack of Anu and where Ullikummi was hidden from the sight of the gods. aššu pedan-šet,[94] "his

good place", points to the right body orifice from which Kumarbi has to give birth. dannaran waš̆pan,[95] "an empty garment", illustrates the ease with which Ullikummi pushes in the floor of heaven. tepawe pedi,[96] "to a small place", describes the remote locale to which the Stormgod and Tašmišu are to be exiled from the sight of Ullikummi. The repeated use of karuili,[96] "former", to modify "gods", "words", "the fathers' seal" and "saw" emphasizes the primeval age from which Ea fetches the tool with which Ullikummi is to be cut loose. aššu šaštan,[97] "a good sleep", points to the correct ritual or magical procedures of intercourse which will lead to conception. The use of LÚ.HUL-lu and NIĞ.SI.SÁ[98] as attributive adjectives or proper names in the Appu story has been discussed in the preceding chapter. Kallaran NINDA-an,[99] "an unfavorable loaf" and aš-[xx]xx NINDA-an,[100] "a fa[vorable] loaf" contrasts the previous rejection and the present acceptance of the Fisherman's sacrifices, as indicated by his wife's barrenness on the one hand and his discovery of the foundling child on the other.

Other adjectives are purely descriptive: 3 DINGIR^{MEŠ} ḫatugauš̆,[101] "three terrible gods"; naḫš̆arantan DINGIR,[102] "an awesome god"; ke daššawa uddar,[103] "these important words"; nakkin memiyan,[104] "the urgent message"; šallíš perunaš̆,[105] "a great rock".

A number of attributive adjectives serve as epithets.

These have not yet become as stereotyped as epithets in Ugaritic[106] and Homeric[107] literature, but specific adjectives are used consistently to refer to the same character or thing. There are several cases in which the meaning of the epithet no longer fits the character it describes. The monster Ullikummi is given a "sweet" name (šanezzi laman).[108] Actually, the name signifies crushing destruction and the overthrow of the rulers of the pantheon.[109] The same contradiction occurs in the namegiving of Appu's first son. He is given šanezzi laman LÚ.HUL-lu,[110] "the evil one". Ullikummi is also described as a "swift god" (nuttariyan siyunin).[111] In reality he is immobile, firmly anchored on the shoulder of Upelluri. This swiftness may, however, apply to the rapidity with which the monster grew up to heaven.

Other epithets are less contradictory characterizations. The eagle is called leliwant,[112] "swift". The winds, too are "swift".[113] The waves are kuwaliu, "blue" or "dark".[114] Kummiya, the abode of the Stormgod, is called happiran šanezzin,[115] "the sweet town". Kešši wakes up šanezziyaz šaštaš,[116] "from sweet sleep", although he actually had a horrible nightmare. Temples are "holy" (šuppa),[117] but Gurparanzaḫu's eyes, too, are "holy".[118]

The epithets of the gods are also applied with some system. The Sungod is called šalliš Ištanuš,[119] "the great

Sungod". This adjective may well distinghuish him from other sungods, such as the Sungod of the Netherworld.[120] The other gods recognize him as nepišaš Ištanuš utney[aš ḫaššuš],[121] "the Sungod of Heaven, [King] of the land", and Ištanuš KUR-etaš LÚSIPA.UDU-aš,[122] "the Sungod, shepherd of the land". These titles refer to his role as judge and guardian of justice.

The Stormgod is called nakkiš,[123] "important" or "heavy". Tašmišu is given the same attribute in this context. Both gods are being born by Kumarbi, so that the adjective is a pun setting off the heaviness of Kumarbi's burden against the importance of the gods to which he is giving birth. Ḫebat calls the Stormgod ammel LÚ-an dU-an nakkin ḫaššun,[124] "my husband, the Stormgod, the important king". He is also called Kummiyaš ḫaštaliuš ḫaššuš,[125] "the brave king of Kummiya".

The adjective nakki- is also used to describe Telipinu. He is nakkin DINGIRlam,[126] "the important god". The Stormgod singles him out as DUMU-YA nakkiš,[127] "my important son". A parallel label is aššuwandan ḫantezzin DUMU-ŠU,[128] "his good and foremost son".

The only epithet for Anu is daššuš Anuš DINGIRMEŠ-aš ḫantezziyaš-šmeš,[129] "the mighty Anu, first among the gods".[130]

Kumarbi's attribute is wisdom. He is ḫattanza LUGAL-uš,[131] "the wise king" and ḫattanaš ḫaršumnaš

EN-aš,[132] "the Lord of the well-spring of wisdom". In "The Song of Ullikummi" he carries the unique epithet dapiyaš šiyunaš addan,[133] "father of the gods", or simply, šiyunaš attaš,[134] "father of the gods". Zeus is πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,[135] "father of men and of gods". At Ugarit El is called the father of the seventy gods[136] and also "Father of man".[137] In the Bible, due to his momotheism, God's fatherhood is limited to mankind.[138] Since Kumarbi is a relatively young god in the Hittite pantheon,[139] this title indicates his primacy among all the gods rather than their generation.

Ullikummi was born by a šalliš perunaš,[140] "a great rock" and was referred to as the šapidduwa kunkunuzzi,[141] "the dreadful basalt stone". As mentioned, he was also given the contradictory label nuttariyan šiyunan, "swift god".

Epithets and attributive adjectives occur in both Ḫattic and Ḫurrian literature. They are most frequent in the "Song of Ullikummi", which again comes to the fore as the piece with the most sophisticated literary style. Throughout the Hittite myths attributives are used sparingly. This is in keeping with the simple, direct, fast-moving narrative style of these myths.

Repetition

One of the most common stylistic devices used through-

out Near Eastern literature is repetition. Mother Hubur's creation of the terrible monsters who are to oppose Marduk in battle is told repeatedly to emphasize the overwhelming odds Tiamat's opposition is to face.[142] The instructions El gives to Kret are repeated virtually verbatim when Kret carries them out.[143] In Homer a speaker will often retell an event using the same words with which it was first described.[144] The creation account in Genesis 1 is stylized by the repetition of the phrase, "and there was evening and there was morning, one day", after each act of creation. The Hittite myths, too, make extensive use of repetition as a stylistic device.

The most simple use of repetition is in the description of actions which occurred previously, the carrying out of instructions and the completion of previously conceived plans. The myth of the disappearance of Telipinu begins with a series-description of the drought and infertility of all nature resulting from the god's absence:

GIŠluttauš kammaraš ISBAT É-ir tuhhuiš ⌊ISBAT⌋
INA GUNNI-ma kalmišaniš wišuriyantati
[ištananaš anda] DINGIR^{MEŠ} wišuriyantati
INA TÙR anda UDU$^{HI.A}$KI.MIN
INA É.GUD andan GUD$^{HI.A}$ wišuriyantati
UDU-uš-za SILÁ-ZU mimmaš
GUD-ma AMAR-ŠU mimmaš[145]

This passage forms a semi-poetic series which emphasizes the general sterility of nature. At the end of the myth, when Telipinu has returned and his anger removed, the restoration and revitalization is recounted in the same words with only the verbs changed.[146] As a result the myth is formed into a coherent unit, which incorporates the intervening magical sections and in which the ending recalls the beginning. In the "Moon who fell from Heaven" the catastrophe is told in the form of a repetitious refrain.[147] When Kamrušepa recounts what has happened, she repeats the story verbatim.[148]

Kumarbi instructs Impaluri to summon the Irširra deities as follows:

> Keššaraz ^{giš}PA-an da INA GÌR^{MEŠ}-KA-ma-za ^{kuš}E.SIR$^{HI.A}$-uš liliwanduš huwanduš šarkui nu Irširraš kattan it nu kē daššauwa uddar Irširraš piran memi[149]
>
> "Take staff in hand, put shoes like the swift winds on your feet, go down to the Irširra deities, and speak these important words before them."

In carrying out the instructions, Impaluri takes staff in hand, puts shoes like the swift winds on his feet and goes down to the Irširra deities. Before them, he repeats the message practically verbatim. It is striking that the standardized description of the departure should be part of the instructions to the messenger. Thirteen lines of the

text[150] are taken up with the repetitious description. Similarly, when the Stormgod gives detailed orders to prepare for battle,[151] the performance of the orders is written down in exactly the same detail.[152] The Fisherman's instructions to his wife to lie on the bed and scream as though she were pregnant[153] are treated in the same fashion.[154] The same repetitiousness is called for in the realization of a conceived plan. When Kumarbi instructs the Irširras to place Ullikummi on Upelluri's shoulder, this is what is to happen:

> INA UD.1.KAM-war-aš AMMADU pargaweškattaru
> INA ITU.1.KAM-ma-war-aš IKU-an pargaweškattaru
> SAG.DU-i-ma-wa-ši-kan kuiš NA_4-aš walḫaniškattari
> nu-war-aš IGI.$^{ḪI.A}$-i waššiyattaru[155]
> "In one day a yard let him grow; in one month a furlong let him grow! But the stone which is being thrown at his head, let it (only) salve (his) face!"

When Ullikummi grows up, "he grew a yard in one day; a furlong in one month; but the stone which was being thrown at his head, it (only) salved his face."[156] When Kumarbi and his vizier draw up an elaborate plan to visit Ea and seek his help, the realization of the plan is repeated in every little detail.[157]

What the exact purpose of this kind of repetition is, is not easy to surmise. If these myths were meant for

recitation, it is possible to say that the repetitious sections facilitated memorization. The repetitions may also be a mark of simplicity. Apparently it was considered poor form to write: "And Impaluri did what Kumarbi told him", or: "They did as they had planned". On the other hand, the myth-writer was not willing to go to the trouble of putting the performance of instructions in different words. As a result he did the next best thing: he simply repeated the passage in the same words. Whatever the case, this type of repetition is an important feature of the style of Hittite mythology.

A number of instances of repetition are used for specific stylistic purposes. The instance most closely related to the examples given above is the description of Anu's reign with the same words used for the description of Alalu's reign in the "Kingship of Heaven".[158] The succession of kings is from Alalu to Anu to Kumarbi, but the focus is on the succession and subsequent dethronement of Kumarbi. Hence, the reigns of Anu and Alalu are listed as unimportant preludes to the central plot of the story. To emphasize this unimportance, their reigns are recounted in brief and repetitious summaries.

In the incantations of Kamrušepa against Telipinu's anger the series karpiš, kardimiyaz, waštul and šawar,[159] "anger", "fury", "malice" and "rage", is repeated eleven

times. The entreaty is designed to remove the anger of Telipinu so that the fertility of nature will once again be restored. The oft repeated series exposes the wrath of the god to a series of analogic magic pronunciations, in order to make Kamrušepa's efforts as effective as possible.

The introductionto "Kingship in Heaven" is an invocation to let all the important gods listen: šiyuneš daššaweš ištamaškandu.[160] The verb is repeated four times in the form ištamaškandu, third plural imperative, and once in the form ištamaškiddu, third singular imperative. This repetition gives the introduction the ring of a refrain designed to call up the gods to listen by its very persistance. If the myth were recited, this introduction may well have been chanted by a chorus.

Kumarbi's planning to overthrow the Stormgod is expressed by the idiom: Kumarbiš-za ḫattatar ištanzani piran daškizzi,[161] "Kumarbi wisdom unto his mind takes". This planning activity is summarized with the words: Kumarbiš-za ištanzani piran ḫattatar [daškizzi] na-t kunnan man iškariškizzi,[162] "Kumarbi wisdom unto his mind takes, and like a bead he sticks it on". In the name-giving ceremony Ullikummi's name signifies that he will go up to heaven for kingship, he will crush Kummiya, pulverize the Stormgod, snap off Tašmišu and scatter all the gods.[163] Towards the end of Tablet 3 Ullikummi and the Stormgod come face to face for a

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final battle. In typical Homeric fashion[164] the two stop to speak to each other before coming to blows. In his speech, taunting the Stormgod with his might, Ullikummi summarizes both this planning and the significance of his name:

> [Kumarbiš-wa-za ištanzani ḫatta]tar piran kunnan man
> kišan iškariškit [ammuk-wa-kan nepiši šar]a ḫaššuiznanni
> paimi nu-wa-za Kummiya[n ḫappiran šanezzin
> karimmi] kuntarran-a dahhi šiyuniuš-ma-wa-kan
> ne[pišaz katta MUŠEN$^{HI.A}$ man išhu]hhi[165]
>
> "Kumarbi thus stuck wisdom unto his mind like a bead.
> I will go up to heaven for kingship, and Kummiya,
> the sweet town, and the dwelling I will take, but
> the gods I will scatter down from heaven like birds."

This speech makes it abundantly clear that Ullikummi is the child of the planning and fashioning of his father Kumarbi. The Stormgod is to know that the issue is between him and Kumarbi. Ullikummi is merely the champion-representative. This battle is not merely a fight between the Stormgod and a monster that happened to cross his path; it is a struggle over the central issue: the supremacy of heaven. This repetition, which recalls Ullikummi's origin, ancestry, adds greatly to the unity of the story, and serves to keep the action at the end of the long myth directly in line with the central plot.

To complete the list of examples of repetition for a

specific purpose, the speech of the bad brother convincing the good brother that they should separate[166] should be mentioned once more. Here the repetitious list of examples of gods who dwell separately is used as an inductive argument to bring the good brother over to the evil brother's point of view.

Another type of repetition occurs because certain actions are described in a standard way. Already mentioned in connection with the repetitionof instructions is the dispatch of a vizier who always takes staff in hand and puts shoes like the swift winds on his feet before setting out. The events which surround the birth of a child fall into this category. We have recorded the births of Ullikummi, Appu's two children and the child of the cow who becomes the foundling of the Fisherman:[167]

haššanuer-an $SAL^{MEŠ}$ [...] nu GUL-šuš $^{D}M[AḪ^{HI.A}$-uš
DUMU-an karpir nan-kan ANA ^{d}Kumarbi ginuwaš ḫalair
Kumarbiš-za aši DUMU.NITA-an duškiškiwan daiš nu šanezzi
laman-[šet] peškiwan daiš
Kumarbiš-za ištanzani-ši piran memiškiwan daiš kuit-
wa-ši-kan laman[tehḫi] ^{d}GUL-šuš-wa-mu
$^{d}MAḪ^{HI.A}$-uš kuin DUMU-an pier nu-war-[aš-kan] tuekkaz
arḫa šiyattal man watkut paiddu[-wa-ši-ša]n Ullikummi
laman ešdu[168]

"They brought him to birth, the midwives ..., and the

Fate goddesses and Mother goddesses lifted the child and placed it on the knees of Kumarbi. Kumarbi began to rejoice over this son and began to fondle him. Kumarbi began to ask himself: 'What name shall I put on him, the child whom the Fate deities and the Mother goddesses gave to me? He sprang out of the body like a blade. From now on, let his name be Ullikummi!'"

... nu ITU.10.KAM tiyat DAM Appu IBILA-an ḫašta SAL.UMMEDA-aš-za IBILA-an karapta naš-šan Appu genuwaš ḫalaiš Appuš-za IBILA-an duškeškiwan daiš nan kunkeškiwan daiš nu-ši-šan šanezzi laman LÚ.ḪUL-lu daiš kuwap[i ...] šiyunaš NIĠ.SI.SÁ-an KASKAL-an U[L eppir nu-za] LÚ.ḪUL-lu KASKAL-an ḫarkir nu-ši-šan LÚ.ḪUL-lu laman ešdu[169]

"... When the tenth month came, the wife of Appu bore a son. The midwife lifted the child, and set it on Appu's knees. Appu began to rejoice over the son and began to dandle him, and gave him the sweet name "Bad". 'The gods never take the right way, but they hold to the wrong way, so let him have a bad name.'"

ITU.10 KAM tiyat nu-za SAL-za IBILA-an ḫašta SAL.UMMEDA-aš-za IBILA-an karapta nu-ši-kan NIĠ.SI.SÁ-an laman daiš nu-ši-šan NÍG.SI.SÁ-an laman ešdu [ ]-na-uš šiyunaš NÍG.SI.SÁ-an KASKAL-an eppir [ ] paiddu NÍG.SI.SÁ-an

laman ešdu.[170]

"When the tenth month came, the woman bore a son. The midwife lifted the child and he (Appu) put on him the name 'good'. '[This time] the gods have taken the right way. [So] from now on let him have a good name.'"

ITU.10.KAM tiya[t nu GUD-uš-za DUMU-an hašta]
GUD-uš-za-kan appa nepiši ḫalzaiš nu ANA ^{d}UTU arḫa
tarkuwa aušta nu ANA ^{d}UTU memiškuwan daiš ammuk duddu
ḫal[zihhi ... .
^{d}UTU-i-kan kuiš aššiyattari nu-ši-kan aš-[...]..
NINDA-an zikkizzi ^{LÚ}ŠU.PIŠ DUMU-an tekn[az ša]ra
karapta nan kunkeškiwan daiš [nan] duškiškit nan-za-kan
ÚR-ši daiš [nan arḫ]a pedaš[171]

"When the tenth month cam[e, the cow bore a son]. The cow called back up to heaven and glowered at the Sungod, and she said to theSungod: 'I am crying foul!...' .... 'He who is dear to the Sungod, puts down a fa[vorable] loaf for him' The fisherman lifted the child from the ground and began to dandle him. He rejoiced over him and took him to his bosom. Then he carried [him of]f."

Of these three births, the first two are standard, whereas the birth of a human child to the cow creates an unusual situation. The procedure associated with a normal

birth was as follows: A midwife assisted in the delivery. In the case of a divine child the Fate deities and Mother-goddesses were present to lift up the child and place it on the knees of the father. These deities were probably present to create a favorable omen for the child's future. In the case of a human child the midwife also took the role of these deities, and probably acted as their representative. The placing of the child on the knee of its father may have been a symbolic act which "équivaut à le reconnaitre de son sang, à le légitimer, l'adopter."[172] Eurycleia places the new-born Ulysses on the knees of his grandfather Autolycus, who had received the gift of pronouncing oaths from Hermes himself. He names him Odysseus, and promises that, when he returns as a grown man, he will receive part of his grandfather's possessions.[173] The ceremony signifies, therefore, that Autolycus has accepted the child as a legitimate heir. Amyntor cursed his son Phoenix, who had had dalliance with his father's concubine, by the Erinyes that μήποτε γούνασιν οἷσιν ἐφέσσεσθαι φίλον υἱὸν ἐξ ἐμέθεν γεγαῶτα - "never would there sit upon his knees a dear son begotten of me (Phoenix)."[174] He would not recognise his son's children as legitimate. In substitution, after Phoenix had become mentor of Achilles, he would always take the child on his knees to feed him, before entrusting him to the company of others.[175].

The father would rejoice over the child and rock him, and then proceed to name him. The name was based on an omen -- Ullikummi was named so because he lept out of the body like a blade, the bad son and the good son because the gods had taken the bad way and the good way respectively. The birth-ceremony ends with the naming itself: "(From now on), let his name be ..."

In the light of this standard procedure the cow's anger and bewilderment at having born a two-legged freak stands in sharp focus. The Sungod has tricked him severely, and he is ready to devour the offspring. When the Fisherman finds the child, traces of the standard ceremony return. He rocks the child and rejoices over it. There is an omen: The favorable bread signifies the fact that the Sungod has finally accepted his offerings, and has favored him with the foundling child. There is no mention of placing the child on his knees, and there is no name-giving ceremony. Perhaps this is because the child is not as important to this story as are Ullikummi and the sons of Appu in the other myths. Why waste time on a namegiving ceremony when you can much better use the child to fool your neighbors into bringing bread, meat and beer?

Parallelism

The Hittite myths of Hurrian origin contain a few

examples of parallelism. These examples point strongly to the Babylonian influence on these myths which are not evident in the myths of Ḫattic origin.

The following are examples of parallelismus membrorum:[176]

INA UD.1.KAM-war-aš AMMADU pargaweškaddaru
INA ITU.1.KAM-ma-war-aš IKU-an pargaweškaddaru[177]
"In one day let him grow a yard,
And in one month let him grow a furlong"

[GIŠBANŠUR-i-wa-kan NINDA] Šanezzešdu
nu-wa-za ezza
[GAL-i-ma-wa-kan GEŠTIN.K]U$_7$ anda šannezzešdu
nu-wa [eku]
[ezza-wa-za nu-wa iš]piya
eku-ma-wa nu-wa-za ḫaššik[178]

"Let the bread become sweet on the table!
Now eat!
Let the wine become sweet in the cup!
Now drink!
Eat, and fill yourself!
Drink, and satisfy yourself!"

3-ŠU palwait nu-šan šara [nepiši pait] [nu šiuneš išta]maššer
2-ŠU palwait nu ^{d}U-aš kummiyaš ḫaštališ ḫaššuš

ištamašta[179]

"Three time he shouted, and up to heaven he went, and the gods heard.
Twice he shouted, and the Stormgod, the brave king of Kummiya, heard.

ŠUŠI LUGAL^{MEŠ} 70 šargaweš[180]
"sixty kings, (yea) seventy heroes."

The following are instances of more straight forward parallelism:

ašanna-ši kišḫiyan tier naš-za natta ešat
adannaš-ma-ši ^{giš}BANŠUR-un unuer nu-kan para
natta šalikta
GAL-in-ši pier nu-šan purin natta daiš[181]

"For his sitting a chair they set up, but he did not sit down.
For his eating a table they laid, but he did not reach out.
A cup they gave him, but (his) lips he did not put to it."

kuedani-wa-za menaḫḫanda išḫamiškiši
kuedani-ma-wa-za menaḫḫanda aiš IŠTU [ ]
šunneškiši

LÚ-iš-wa duddu(d) miyanza nu-wa[natta]ištamašzi
šakuwa-ma-war-aš dašwanza nu-wa natta aušzi
nu-wa-ši kariyašḫaš natta ešzi
arḫa-wa iyanni IŠTAR nu-wa-za ŠEŠ-KA anda wemiya
kuitman-war-aš nawi ḫaštalešzi
kuitman-wa-ši ḫaršanaš GULGULLADU nawi ḫatukišzi[182]

"In front of whom are you singing?
In front of whom are you filling your mouth with ...?
The man is deaf and hears not.
He is blind in the eyes, and sees not
And he has no mercy.
Go away Ištar, and find your brother,
While he (the Stone) has not yet become brave,
While the skull of (his) head has not yet become
dreadful."

KUR-e-wa nikku kuwapikki ḫarkan
man-wa URU$^{HI.A}$ nikku kuwapikki danateššanteš
man-wa LÚ.ERIN^{MEŠ} nikku kuwappikki ḫullanteš[183]

Closely akin to both repetition and parallelism is the way of counting out periods of time and events. The months of pregnancy are counted out in full for the birth of Appu's first son: "The first month, the second month [went], the third month, the fourth month, the fifth month, the sixth

month, the seventh month, the eighth month (and) the ninth month went. When the tenth month came, the wife of Appu bore a son."[184] This stylized count is summarized for the birth of the second son with the climactic phrase of the series: "When the tenth month came, the woman bore a son."[185] A count of the months of the "pregnancy" of Kumarbi in "Kingship in Heaven" is preserved in fragmentary form.[186] This stylized counting also occurs in Ugaritic literature, for numbering days from one to seven. "The simplest form has it that something is done for 'a day and a 2nd; a 3rd, a 4th day; a 5th, a 6th day; (but) behold at sunrise on the 7th day (such and such happened).'"[187] However, the Ugaritic style is usually more complex, with additions inserted in the numbering to build up the suspense of the series.[188] In Ugaritic, too, the number seven itself is a feature of style,[189] whereas the numbering of the months up to ten reflects the actual period of pregnancy. This Semitic feature of counting up to seven does occur in one instance: 1-ŠU ekuir 2-ŠU ekuir 3-ŠU ekuir 4-ŠU ekuir 5-ŠU ekuir 6-ŠU ekuir 7-SU ekuir.[190] "Once they drank, twice they drank, etc...." Again, the series is extremely simple, without the poetic buildup which is found in Ugaritic literature. The only other occurrence of the "seven motif" is in the Kešši story, in which the dreams of Kessi are seven in number.[191]

Direct Speech

In Hittite, as in other literature, direct speech is very common. It is used in all the myths except in "Gurparanzaḫu and the Bow", which is extant only in an incomplete fragment. In the other myths it is used extensively, taking up from a quarter to half of the individual texts. As such it greatly enhances the dramatic quality of the stories. It brings the events into the present and it makes the characters, who are otherwise woefully lacking in individual traits, come to life. It is used often in the conveyance of simple and repetitious instructions and plans.[196] Yet, at times it introduces a high charge of emotion and suspense. In the story of Illuyanka, Ḫupašiya, the mortal, filled with homesickness and loneliness for his family, <u>weššgawan daiš appa-wamu parna tarna</u> -[197] "began to cry continually, 'let me return home!'" The Stormgod's son, filled with remorse at having betrayed his father-in-law, Illuyanka, <u>šara nepiši atti-ši ḫalzaiš ammugga-za-pa anda ep le-mu genzuwaiši</u>[198] "shouts to his father up in heaven, "Include me (too)! Don't be friendly to me!'" The Stormgod, having laid eyes on Ullikummi for the first time, is in utter dejection and despair, and sitting on the ground with tears streaming down his face he utters the words: <u>kuiš-war-an namma uškizzi uniyaš ḫalluwain nu-wa kuiš namma zaḫḫiškizzi nu-war-aš kuiš namma uškizzi uniyaš</u>

nahšaradduš[199]- "Who will any longer endure it, this one's violence? Who will any longer fight? And who will any longer endure it, this one's fearfulness?" Kešši, terrified at his own nightmares, says to his mother: ki mahhan iyaweni anda kalmari paiweni nu kalmari akkueni nu-mu kalmaraš [ ] karipandu[110]- "How shall we interpret this? Are we going into the mountains to die in the mountains? [Don't let the ...] of the mountains devour me!"

An important aspect of the form of direct speech is in the words and expressions which introduce it. In the chart which follows I have listed the frequency with which each of these words introducing are used in both the Hattic and Hurrian myths:

HATTIC MYTHS

verb	meaning	tense	frequency
memišta	he said	pret.	3
tet	he said	pret.	6
tezzi	he says	pres.	4
taršikizzi (taraškizzi)	he (keeps) saying	pres. itv.	5
uddaniškizzi	he is speaking	pres. itv.	2
kallišta	he shouted	pret.	1
halzaiš	he called	pret.	1
mugait	he beseeched	pret.	1
wešgawan daiš	he began to lament	pret.	1

kappuet	he thought about	pret.	1
UMMA	thus saith		11
IŠPUR	he sent forth	pret.	2

HURRIAN MYTHS

memiškizzi	he is saying	pres.	4
memanzi	they will say	pres.	1
memista	he said	pret.	1
memiškiwan daiš	he began to say he said	pret. itv.	59
memi	say!	imperv.	2
punuškiwan daiš	he began to ask he asked	pret. itv.	2
IQBI	he said	pret.	2
UMMA	thus saith		3

An interesting distribution immediately becomes apparent. The verbs te-, its complement tar-[200] and the Akkadogram UMMA are the standard words for introducing direct speech in the Ḫattic myths, while mema- is used only three times. The verbs which are used only once or twice have a specialized meaning in their individual contexts. In the Ḫurrian myths the standard verb introducing direct speech is mema-, and, specifically, the use of the form memiškiwan daiš has become fixed. Forms of te- and tar-, standard in the Ḫattic myths, are never used in the Ḫurrian myths. Conversely, memiškiwan daiš is never used in the Ḫattic myths. The Akkadogram UMMA, found three

times, is limited to "Gurparanzaḫu and the Tigris". The Ḫattic myths, although smaller in volume, show a greater variety and freedom in the use of different verbs to suit individual situations. Using the examples of the preceding paragraph, we observe that in Illuyanka Ḫupašiya's speech is introduced with a form of the verb wiya-, "to weep", while in the Song of Ullik. the Stormgod "speaks words with tearful eye" - a form of the verb mema-, "to speak" is used. In other words, the mode of introducing direct speech has become much more standardized in the Ḫurrian myths. The choice of different and mutually exclusive verbs as standard for the two groups of literature marks a concrete difference in literary style between them.

A remark should be made about Gurparanzaḫu and the Tigris. Only the Akkadograms UMMA and IQBI are in evidence, and the standard expression memiškiwan daiš is not used. Perhaps this sets this story apart from other Ḫurrian myths. Unfortunately the story is short and fragmentary, so that no definite conclusions can be based on this evidence.

As a rule the tense of the verb of direct speech is preterit, which fits into the context of the narrative style. The chart shows a few verbs -- tezzi, taraškizzi, memiškizzi, and watarnaḫḫiškizzi -- in the present tense. In most cases the verbs in the contexts are in the preterit tense, so that the shift to the present stands out: [^{d}IM-aš] attaš

huhhi-ši pait (pret.) nu-ši taršikizzi (pres.)[201] Otten, remarking on this passage, identifies the tense as the historic present.[202] The use of the historic present brings the action closer to the reader, and thus enhances the dramatic effect. In a few passages, the whole context is put in the present tense, although the larger narrative is still in the past tense. E.g., pair ^{d}UTU-un šanḫeškanzi nan UL wemiyanzi ^{d}IM-ša tezzi,[203] "they went; they are seeking the Sungod and do not find him. The Stormgod says ... "This is clearly a case of the historic present and confirms the thesis that when individual verbs of speech are put into the present it is a use of the historic present. Three of the four instances of a verb of speech in the present tense[204] (memiškizzi) occur in one passage in the Song of Ullikummi.[205] This scene is a point of crisis in the myth. The Stormgod sees the stone monster for the first time. As a result he became filled first with anger, then tearful dejection. The passage freely mixes verbs in the present tense and verbs in the preterit tense. The Stormgod and Tašmišu went (pair) up to Mt. Hazzi, where he sets (teškizzi) his face on the monster. In shock he sat down (ešat) and the tears flow (aršanzi) freely. Tearfully he utters (memiškizzi) words. The high intensity of the moment is increased by the use of key verbs in the historic present tense, and the verbs of speech are among them.

More puzzling is the use of the iterative with verbs of speech. The iterative is used to express repeated acts, to reflect a multiple subject or object, to introduce a number of acts, and sometimes, overlapping with the durative, to represent a continuous act.[206]

A few of the instances can be explained on this basis. Wešgawan dais,[207] "he began to lament", introduces Ḫupasiya's plea to return home. The iterative gives the picture of an oft-repeated and continual plea. This, however, is not really a verb of speech, and is used only once as such. Memiškizzi introduces the Stormgod's tearful statement: "Who will any longer endure it, this one's violence? Who will any longer fight? And who will any longer endure it, this one's fearfulness?"[208] The iterative here introduces a series of three statements. This use corresponds to the use of the iterative for a number of acts. The same applies to two of Ištar's speeches, which are introduced with memi-škizzi.[209]

However, in most of the examples a clearcut use of the iterative cannot be detected. Ištar says (memiškizzi): kuwapi-war-at andan piddaiškanzi 2 AḪḪUTIM,[210] "where do they run, the two brothers?" This speech is a brief question, after which Ištar quickly goes into action. No use of the iterative is applicable to this example. Another example is a conversation between the Stormgod and Ḫaḫḫima

in the Yuzgat tablet: ḫaḫḫimaš ^{d}IM-ni tezzi kuši-wa pišša<u>t</u>ti [xxx] nu-wa ḫumanteš akir nu-wa ki-pat GAL-ri UL namma ḫarši nu-wa ^{d}Ḫašammiliaš ŠEŠ^{meš}ŠU [pappa]nikkeš nu-wa apuš ḫaḫḫimaš UL IŠBAT .... ^{d}IM-aš ḫaḫḫimi [taraškiz]zi keššeraš-miš-wa GAL-ri-ya anda damenkanza [ŠU^{meš}-YA-wa GÌR^{meš}]-YA damenkir takku-wa kušša GÌR^{meš}-uš ŠU^{ḫia}-uš [anda epši (?)] IGI^{ḫia}-mit-a-wa-le epši[211] "Ḫaḫḫima says (not iterative!) to the Stormgod: 'You kill and you throw off [....]. All things have been killed. Will you not hold this same cup forever? The brothers of Ḫašammili are (only) young boys! Will Ḫaḫḫima not seize them?' .... The Stormgod says (iterative!) to Hahhima: '(Indeed,) my hands are stuck to the cup; my hands and my feet are held tight, but even if you seize these hands and feet, my eyes you will not seize!'" Two speeches occur in the same conversation. Both speeches are fairly long,and contain varied clauses. There is no evidence of repetitions or continued speech. Each speaker is immediately answered by the other.[212] Yet the one verb is iterative (taraškizzi), and the other verb is not iterative (tezzi). There is no significant reason why the iterative should have been used, and the verbs have the identical meaning "he says," in the historic present tense.

One of the uses of the iterative, according to Friedrich, is with a multiple subject or a multiple object. Yet in one instance where there is a multiple subject the

iterative is not used. The fisherman orders his wife to lie down on the bed and scream, so that everyone in the village will say (kišan memanzi): 'The wife of the fisherman has born a child.'[213] The use of a multiple object is not a case in point because the verbs of speech take the dative case.

Although several instances could be explained, it may be concluded that in general the rules listed by Friedrich do not apply to iterative verbs of speech.

I have already observed that in the Ḫurrian literature direct speech is much more standardized in form than in Ḫattic literature. In keeping with this, there are only four instances in the Ḫurrian myths in which the verb mema- as an introductionto direct speech is not in the iterative. It is striking that in each case these verbs introduce a speech within a speech, so that they themselves are a part of the direct speech. These verbs are memišta,[214] memi (two times)[215] and memiyanzi.[216] For each of these the iterative forms memiškit, memiški and memiškanzi would have been plausible. Could it be that the use of the iterative sounded artificial in the spoken language when used with a verb of speech? If so, it is more evidence that the use of the iterative for these verbs in the narrative sections is a standard, stylized procedure.

With these verbs of speech the iterative is used only

in the present tense. (The expression memiškiwan daiš is not a case in point here, because the supine memiškiwan has no tense of its own.) Since the present tense is the historic present, there may be a connection between the two. The historic present is a device used for intensification. It brings the action into the presence of the audience, and thus heightens the dramatic intensity. The iterative is a device for multiplication. It indicates repeated action, multiple subject or object, multiple acts and sometimes drawn-out action. It was found that these uses do not apply in every case to the verbs of direct speech. I suggest that, if there is a reason for the use of the iterative with these verbs, that reason is to add further emphasis to the use of the historic present. This emphasis cannot be identified with repetition or continuation. Rather, while the historic present brings the action before the audience, the addition of the iterative causes it to progress, to unfold before their eyes. If this is true it would be more accurate to translate memiškizzi as a progressive present, "he is saying", rather than "he says".

As observed, the standard expression in the Hurrian myths in memiškiwan daiš. This is a combination of the iterative supine of mema- and the third singular preterit of the verb dai-, "to put, place". This construction

means, "he began to speak".[217] This gives the expression a combination of the idea of repeated speech and beginning to speak. One would expect that with such an introduction a long oration is to follow. This is not the case. Although the speeches may be quite long, with ten to twelve clauses, they are usually short, with two to five clauses. To apply the exact force of the idiom to the following example would be ridiculous: NÍG.SI.SÁ-za ŠEŠ-aš LU.ḪUL-i ŠEŠ-ni memiškiwan daiš nu-wa kuiš[218] "The good brother began to say to the bad brother: 'What?'" The idiom has become the standard introduction for direct speech. For all its grammatical complexity and consumption of space in the text, it simply means: "he said".

Much of the phraseology surrounding these verbs has also become standard. The word order is subject-indirect object-verb: ^{d}MAḪ ^{d}IM-ni tet.[219] The expression appa memiškiwan daiš sometimes means, "he said again(or further).[220] Sometimes it means, "he answered".[221] Other times, however, appa adds nothing to the meaning of the phrase. When Ea addresses the Former Gods for the first time, appa is used in the introduction. A meaningful translation of the phrase is simply: "Ea said to the Former Gods".[222] The expression, ištanzani-ši piran memiškiwan daiš,[223] "to his mind he said", renders the English equivalent "he wondered", "he thought", or "he

mused". The "Tale of Appu" makes use of another stylized expression: Appuš IŠME nu-ši appa memiškiwan daiš,[224] "Appu heard and answered her". The fact that he heard is no great revelation, because the preceding speech was addressed specifically to him.

The enclitic particle -wa(r) is used to indicate direct speech at the beginning of each clause. This rule is followed strictly in all Hittite literature, except in the mythological texts, where it is often omitted.[225] In the texts which I have been discussing it is used in 208 clauses, but omitted in 179 clauses. There is no apparent reason why it should be used at one time and not at another. A survey of the use of -wa(r) in relation to the tense of the verb in the same clause showed only modest results. With verbs in the present tense -wa(r) was used almost twice as often as omitted (109-62). In the preterit tense use and omission were equal in number (44-43). In the imperative, however, the particle was omitted almost twice as often as it was used (82-46). These ratios were the same in Ḫattic and Ḫurrian literature. Perhaps the omissions were so much more frequent in the imperative, because it is closely associated with direct speech, so that the need for an indicator is not as great.

The omission of wa(r) is equally common with verbs of speech; such as, te-, tar-, and mema-. The Akkadogram UMMA is followed by -wa(r) almost all the time (27-3). This is

probably because UMMA stands at the beginning of the sentence with the subject and object intervening between it and the direct speech. The need for a speech indicator is therefore much greater than with the other verbs, which appear at the end of the sentence. This kind of statistical evidence is insufficient, to say the least, to set up any definite rules.

For every example in which -wa(r) is omitted a parallel example can be found in which it is used. Sometimes it is included in every clause of a long speech.[226] Sometimes it is used only in the first two or three clauses and omitted in the rest.[227] Again, it may be omitted in the first clause and included in the rest.[228] Finally it may be omitted altogether from either short[229] or long[230] speeches.

An interesting use of -wa(r) occurs in a speech within a speech. The fisherman instructs his wife: memaḫḫitta kuit nu-mu GEŠTU-an para ep kun-za DUMU-an da nu-kan È.ŠÀ-ni anda it nu-za-kan INA ^{giš}NÁ-aš GAM šeški nu taškupai nu URU-aš dapianza išdammašzi nu kišan memanzi DAM ^{lú}ŠU.PIŠ-wa-za IBILA-an hašta.[231] "Pay attention to what I have to say. Take this child, go into the bedroom, lie down on the bed and scream so that the whole city will hear and they will say: 'The wife of the fisherman has given birth to a child.'" The particle -wa(r) is omitted in every clause of the direct speech, except in the clause introduced by memanzi, which is a speech within a larger speech. The scribe, in order to

indicate the two degrees of direct discourse omitted the particle from the larger speech, so that he could use it to identify the smaller speech within it. The particle is used in the same way in the two other examples of a speech within a speech.[232]

In conclusion, no set rule can be found for the use or omission of the particle -wa(r) as an indicator of direct discourse in the Hittite myths.

ORGANIZATION

Much can be learned about the literary form of the Hittite myths from the way they are put together. As with other literary features, there is a marked difference between the organization of the myths of Ḫattic origin and those of Ḫurrian origin.[233] The Ḫattic myths are usually embedded in or connected with the description of ritual procedings, cultic occasions or magic incantations. Their organization and theme have to be seen in the light of this religious context. As a result of this context conclusions can be drawn about the function of these myths. We have seen repeatedly that the Ḫattic myths are of a low literary quality. This may also be due to their context and use. They do not stand as independent literary compositions, and they were probably cherished as implements in the cultic and magic procedings rather than as stories with literary

and dramatic value of their own. As a result the emphasis was on the content of the stories in so far as it had significance for the ritual process. High quality of literary composition was secondary. The Ḫurrian myths, on the other hand, stand as independent pieces of literature. This means that unfortunately not much can be learned of their function. Were they simply stored in the archives as records of divine history, to be read and recited for royal and upper class audiences? Were they known and cherished as religious lore by the general populace? Because they were not written down in connection with cultic and magic ceremonies, we may assume that their connection with daily religion and worship was not significant. The emphasis is on the stories themselves. In consequence, more attention was paid to the literary composition of these myths. And they are, in fact, of a higher literary quality than the Ḫattic myths. What follows is a survey of the organization and composition of the individual myths.

The "Myth of the dragon Illuyanka" exists in two versions, which may have been related as earlier and later versions.[234] The first version opens with the words "thus saith Kella": UM-MA ^{m}Ki-il-l[a LÚ.GUDÚ ^{d}U URU Ne-ri-ik.[235] The second version closes with the same line.[236] After the introduction the myth begins with a general invocation for the prosperity of the land:

Let the land flourish and enjoy peace!
Let the land be protected!
When it flourishes and enjoys peace,
They will celebrate the Purulli feast.[237]

The myth is called the purulliyaš uttar,[238] and may have been recited on the festival occasion. The myth proper follows. The Stormgod kills the dragon after Inaraš has disabled him with the help of the mortal Ḫupašiya. It is strange that the myth continues for some length to describe the events which take place between the goddess Inaraš and the mortal Ḫupašiya. Obviously, the central theme for cultic purposes (the celebration of a festival at a time when the land flourishes) is the Stormgod's conquest of the dragon (the obstacle to the land's prosperity). Nevertheless, the secondary theme of the relations between goddess and mortal continues when the main plot is over. The text of the first version closes with a ritual portion which is broken off after nine lines.[239] The ritual takes place at Mount Zaliyanu, where the rains are ordained. An official brings bread from Nerik and someone asks the mountain for rain. In the second version the plot is more unified. This time the mortal assistant (the Stormgod's son by a poor woman) is conveniently killed along with the dragon. The myth is again followed by a ritual portion, which is entirely different from the ritual after the first version. The text mentions the abundant

harvest (ḫalkuessar mekki) of the goddess Zalinui.[240] This name is similar enough to that of Mt. Zaliyanu in the first version to suspect a connection between the two. The references to rain and harvest in these ritual portions suggest that EZEN purulliyaš was an agricultural feast, celebrated at the beginning of the growing season.

The short myth "The Moon who fell from Heaven" is a very clear example of a myth's role in ritual. The ritual is designed to ward off the Stormgod's terrifying thunder. The text is divided into three parts: a list of supplies needed for the ritual, the myth, and the ritual. The occasion for the ritual is given in the first line of the text: [man ^{d}U] KAL(AG).GA tetheš[kizzi].[241] "When the Stormgod thunders in a violent manner." The first part ends with the instruction: nu ḫattili k[(išan) memai(?)].[242] "Recite as follows in Ḫattic." The myth follows in which the Moon's fall from heaven is given as the reason for the Stormgod's dispatch of the violent storm. When the etiological occurrence of the thunderstorm has been recited, the ritual is performed. Libations are to be drunk to each aspect of the storm, followed by sacrifices to the Stormgod in his temple. The scribe closes the text with the general instruction: man-k[an ^{d}U-aš] KAL(AG)GA tetḫeški[zzi] nu LÚ ^{d}U iya[zi][243] "When the Stormgod thunders in a violent manner, the priest of the Stormgod will do as described."

It is clear that the literary unit is the ritual, of which the myth is an integral part (as a ritual recitation). The unit is enclosed by identical references to the Stormgod's violent thunder in the opening and closing lines. As such, the myth did not exist as a separate piece of literature, but it was used in the ritual whenever a violent thunderstorm brought fear and terror to the land.

The organization of the "Disappearance of Telipinu" is quite different. This myth is connected with a magic incantation rather than a ritual. The structure of this myth is actually the reverse of the structure of "The Moon who fell from Heaven". The myth itself forms the literary unit, and the incantation has been absorbed within it. The theme of the myth is the restoration of the fertility of all of nature.[244] This fertility has been changed to sterility by a combination of Telipinu's wrath and his resulting absence. Much of the myth is taken up with efforts to find the angry god. The bee finally succeeds, but she stings his hands and his feet to arouse him. The god's wrath reaches a violent pitch and he spreads havoc and destruction. The lengthy incantation of analogic magic follows to abate Telipinu's anger. Finally he is calmed down and he returns. The return of fertility is described at the end of the myth[245] with the same series of statements with which the infertility of nature was described at the beginning.[246] Thus the

myth is tied into a coherent unit. The account closes with the erection of a pole from which a sheepskin is suspended. This signifies the fat of sheep, grain, corn, wine, cattle and long years of fertility.[247] This omen is delivered to the king, who apparently acts as Telipinu's representative in granting fertility and prosperity to his realm.[248] Whether this symbolic act is part of the myth or the beginning of a human ritual is not certain, for the passage is followed by a lacuna of undetermined length.[249]

It is unfortunate that in the myths of Hurrian origin all the endings have been lost. Of "Kingship in Heaven" only the first of at least four columns is intelligible, and even this column is broken at the end.[250] Güterbock theorizes that the "Song of Ullikummi" contained a fourth tablet recounting the final victory of the Stormgod over Kumarbi and his foes.[251] The "Tale of Appu" is incomplete at the end, and the "Cow and the Fisherman" lacks both beginning and ending. There is a possibility that these two stories were connected, or at least related to each other. Towards the end of the Appu story the Sungod causes the scrawny cow of the good son to flourish and conceive,[252] and the story of the cow and the fisherman begins with the Sungod's impregnation of a cow who has been thriving on his lush meadow.[253] This connection, however, is tentative at best. The main characters, Appu and his family on the one hand, and the

fisherman and his wife on the other, remain exclusive to each story.[254] It is nevertheless striking that both stories deal with a couple's childlessness, and that the Sungod is instrumental in resolving this difficulty in each case (but in two very different ways). In the other Hurrian stories -- "Kešši the Huntsman", "Tales of Gurparanzaḫu" and "Ištar and the Dragon Ḫedammu" -- only central and fragmentary portions are preserved, so that little can be said about their overall organization. It is theoretically possible that, like the Hattic myths, some of these myths, too, were followed by ritual or magic sections. There is no hint of this in the stories themselves, however, and, as long as such passages are not found, this line of thinking is best abandoned, and the stories are best treated as independent units.

It will be worthwhile to take a closer look at the introductions of the stories for which we do have a beginning. The introduction to "Kingship in Heaven" invokes all the gods of old to listen: The myth is called a "song" in the colophon:

[ ]-š DINGIR^{MEŠ}-iš daššaweš ištamaškandu ^{d}Naraš
[^{d}Napšaraš ^{d}Mink]iš ^{d}Ammunkiš ištamaškiddu ^{d}Ammezzaduš
[DINGIR^{MEŠ}(?)]-aš attaš annaš ištamaškandu
[^{d}Anuš ^{d}Antu]š ^{d}Išḫaraš attaš annaš ištamaškandu ^{d}EN.LÍL-aš
[^{d}NIN.LÍL-aš -]aya kuiš daššaweš wakturiš DINGIR^{MEŠ}-iš
[k]ulkulimmaš-a ištamaškandu[255]

"Let the important gods listen! Let Nara, [Napšara, Mink]i, and Ammunki listen! Let Ammezzadu [and the gods'] fathers and mothers listen! Let [Anu, Ant]u Išḫara, the fathers and the mothers listen! Let Enlil, [Ninlil], and those who are mighty and firmly established gods and [k]ulku-limmaš listen!"

The "Song of Ullikummi" begins with a proem:[256]

[....-k(án) ku(-e-da-n)i] ZI-ni an-da n[a-aš-kán (?) ZI-ni(?)] ḫ[a-at-ta-tar(?) an-da (?) d]a-aš-ki-iz-zi da-pí-y[a-aš (DINGIR^{MEŠ})-aš (ad-da-an)] ^{d}Ku-m[(ar-b)]i-in iš-ḫa-mi-iḫ-ḫi
^{d}Ku-mar-bi-iš-za ḫa-at-ta-tar ZI-ni pí-an da[(-aš-ki-iz-zi)] nu ḪUL-lu-un UD.KAM-an LÚ.ḪUL-an šal-la[(-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi)] nu ^{d}U-ni IGI-an-da i-da-la-wa-tar ša-an[-ḫi-iš-ki-iz-zi nu ^{d}U-ni :tar-pa-na-al-li-in šal-la-nu[(-uš-ki-iz-zi)][257]

"(Of him...[who] [into his mind wisdom] is taking of Kumarbi, father of all the gods I will sing.
Kumarbi is taking wisdom unto his mind, and he is raising a bad day as evil. Against the Stormgod he is seeking evil, and against the Stormgod he is raising a rebel."
The introduction of the Appu story, in keeping with its legendary nature is a moral. It is little understood, but maybe the general application of which the interplay between

good and evil in the story is an example:

[ ]-duš LÚ^{meš} kuiš šarkiškizzi ḫuwappaš-a-kan LÚ^{meš} -uš GIŠ-ru man lilakki ḫuwappuš-a-dan LÚ^{meš}-aš tarna-šma(n) šakšakiluš walḫannai tuš ḫarnikzi[258]

"He who šarkiya-'s the ...-duš men, he will lilak- evil men like a tree(?), (like) šakšakiluš he will keep smiting evil men on their skull(s), and he will ruin them."[259]

The type of introduction which stresses the author's intent to recite a story or sing a song and which summons a divine audience to listen is not very common in Near Eastern mythology. The Enuma Elish, for example, begins with a time reference stressing the old age of the events which are to be recounted: "When on high the heaven had not been named, and the earth below had not been called by name, ..., then it was ...." This reminds us more of the beginning of the Ḫattic myth, "Telipinu and the Ocean" --karu kuwapi šalliš arunaš ...,[260] "Some time long ago the great sea ..." --, than it does of the introductions cited above. In Ugaritic, the Kret epic begins with the simple heading, [lk]rt, "pertaining to Kret."[261]

There are, however, two brief proems of a similar nature in the Ugaritic texts.[262] The mythological wedding of Yariḫ and Nikkal is introduced with the words: ašr.nkl. wib.[bt(?)] .ḫrḫb,[263] "I will sing of Nikkal and ..?.."

Götze restores: aš̆r.nkl.wib[d].ḫrḫb and translates, "I will sing of Nikkal, (yea) I will praise Ḫrḫb".[264] This is spurious, since one would expect abd rather than ibd for the first person singular. Text 52 begins with iqra.ilm.n[ᶜmm]. wysmm.bn.šp[š],[265] "I will celebrate in song[266] the good and fair sons of Šapš̆."[267] As in the "Song of Ullikummi", these brief proems are in the first person.

The proems to "Kingship in Heaven" and the "Song of Ullikummi" show remarkable similarities to the introductions of the works of Homer and Hesiod. In both his works Hesiod invokes the Muses to sing:

> Μοῦσαι Πιερίηθην ἀοιδῇσιν κλείουσαι
> δεῦτε, Δί' ἐννέπετε, σφέτερον πατέρ' ὑμνείουσαι [268]
>
> "O Muses of Pieria who give glory through song,
> Come! Tell of Zeus your father, singing his praises!"
>
> Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' ἀείδειν [269]
>
> "Of the Heliconian Muses let us begin to sing."
>
> χαίρετε, τέκνα Δίοσ, δότε δ' ἱμερόεσσαν ἀοιδήν.
> κλείετε δ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος ἀιὲν ἐόντων [270]
>
> "Rejoice, O daughters of Zeus, grant lovely songs,
> and spread the fame of the holy race of immortals
> who are forever!"

In distinction from the Hittite myths, the singing is transferred from the first to the third person - from the author to the Muses. At the same time Hesiod makes it clear that it is he who is doing the singing. He talks at length of the inspiration he received from the muses, and how they breathed into him ἀυδὴν θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρὸ τ' ἐόντα. καὶ μ' ἐκέλονθ' ὑμνεῖν μακάρων γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων.[271] -"a prophetic voice in order to celebrate those who will be and those who were before; and they commanded me to sing of the race of the blessed ones who are forever." And just as the author of "Kingship in the Heaven" invokes the ancient gods to listen, so Hesiod summons the audience, his brother Perses, to hear what he has to say: κλῦθι ἰδὼν ἀίων τε, δίκη δ' ἴθυνε θέμιστας τύνη; ἐγὼ δὲ κε, Πέρση, ἐτήτυμα μυθησαίμην.[272] "Pay attention, seeing and hearing; you make judgements correctly, while I, O Perses, would recite true matters." Hesiod's proems, of course, are much more elaborate and lengthy--he manages to stretch out the introduction of the Theogony to 115 lines--; but the essentials are nevertheless present in the brief Hittite proem.

The introduction to "The Iliad" also begins with a proem:

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω 'Αχιλῆος
οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί' 'Αχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε,
πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς "Αϊδε προΐαψεν
ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν
οἰωνοῖσι τε πᾶσι, Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή,
ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε
'Ατρεΐδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος 'Αχιλλεύς.[273]

"Sing the wrath, O goddess, of Peleus' son, Achilles,
the accursed wrath which brought myriad troubles
to the Achaeans, and hurled into Hades many valiant
souls of heroes and made them spoil for dogs
and all kinds of birds; thus the will of Zeus was
being fulfilled -(sing thereof) from the time
when at first they stood apart in strife, the son
of Atreus, king of men, and goodly Achilles."

In spite of the fact that the "Song of Ullikummi" is a myth dealing with a war among the gods, and The Iliad is an epic recounting a war among men, an amazing similarity in the plot structure of the two stories is revealed in their introductions. Both introductions announce the story which is to follow as a song. Both introduce the chief characters, Kumarbi and Achilles. Both lay bare the plot: In the "Song of Ullikummi" it is the cunning of Kumarbi which is to raise

up a bad day as an evil being. In The Iliad it is the wrath of Achilles which is to be the source of countless troubles for the Achaeans. In each story it is not Kumarbi in person and Achilles in person, but Kumarbi's cunning and Achilles' wrath which holds together the plot of the story. In the first part of the "Song of Ullikummi" Kumarbi carries out his evil plan: He fashions the stone monster to be his champion in the battle with the Stormgod. Then Kumarbi drops from the scene. Most of the myth is taken up with the account of the strife between Ullikummi and the Stormgod. We never lose sight of the fact, however, that Ullikummi is the product of Kumarbi's cunning, and that the monster is only a tool with which the throne of heaven is to be had. In the first part of The Iliad the source of the wrath of Achilles is explained: Agamemnon has confiscated his prize girl Briseis when the king was forced to give up his own prize. As a result Achilles refused to fight anymore. After this, Achilles virtually drops from the scene, and he is absent for over half The Iliad. Most of the epic is taken up with the account of the war between the Achaeans and the Trojans. And yet, we are constantly aware of the wrathful Achilles sulking in his tent. For it is clear that as long as Achilles refuses to fight there can be no victory for the Achaeans. It is only at the end, when Achilles' wrath for Agamemnon is replaced

by murderous outrage against Hector for slaying his companion Patroclus that the impasse is resolved and Achilles joins the battle. It is unfortunate that the conclusion of the "Song of Ullikummi" is missing. It is generally assumed that the Stormgod emerges victorious, since historically he is the supreme god of the Hittite pantheon. It would be interesting to see whether the circumvention of the cunning of Kumarbi fits into the parallel development of the two plot lines.

Sentence Structure

The Hittite myths display a great variety in word order. The standard order is: conjunction-enclitics-subject-object-oblique (datuve-locative, ablative, instrumental) verb. nu Impulariš uddar aruni appa memiškiwan daiš[274] "And Impulari spoke the words again to the sea." The sentences are generally short, so that many of the elements are often missing. ^{m}Appuš ištamašta[275] "Appu heard." naš-kan nepiši šara pait[276] "And he went up to heaven."

The oblique cases are most flexible in their sentence position, and may occur almost anywhere. Locative at the beginning of a sentence: INA ŠÀ-KA-ta-kan anda aimpan tehhun[277] "In your inside I have placed a heavy burden." When this is repeated in a series, a rhythmic emphasis on the location is achieved:

ḫašši-ma kalmišaniš wešuryantati
ištananaš and šiuneš wešuryantati
ašauni anda UDU$^{ḫi.a}$ wešuryantati
ḫaliya andan GUD$^{ḫi.a}$ wešuryantati[278]

Dative of time preceding the subject: karu-šan MU$^{ḫi.a}$-aš ^{d}Alaluš nepiši ḫaššuš ešta[279] "previously, in former years, Alalu was king in heaven." Dative before object: ANA ^{d}Kumarbi-wa ^{giš}ḫaššalli ašanna tiyandu[280] "Set a stool for Kumarbi to sit (on)." Ablative before subject: [kaša-wa] arunaz ÍD-aš uit[281] "Behold, from the sea came the river." Dative and ablative before object: našta ^{d}Telipinui tuggaz-šet idalu-šit dahhun[282] "For Telipinu from his body I took his evil." Dative between subject and object: Kumarbiš-za ištanzani piran ḫattatar daškizzi[283] "Kumarbi took unto his mind wisdom." This same sentence occurs three lines earlier with the dative after the object without any apparent difference in emphasis: Kumarbiš-za ḫattatar ištanzani piran daškizzi.[284] A word may intervene between a dative noun and its postposition: ^{d}Alalui ^{d}Anuš memaḫḫauda zaḫḫain paiš[285] "Anu gave battle against Alalu." In the same context the subject precedes the dative: ^{d}Anuš ^{d}Kumarbi memaḫḫanda zaḫḫain paiš[286] It is possible that menaḫḫanda is not used as a postposition here. The distinction between postposition, adverb and preverb is not always clear.[287] It may also be that menaḫḫanda zaḫḫain pai-,

"to give battle against", is treated as a fixed idiom. In any case, the word order is fluctuated without reason.

In a few cases the object is placed before the subject. This usually creates a special emphasis. nu ^{d}ZA.BA$_4$.BA$_4$-an ḫaḫḫimaš ISBAT[288] "And Ḫaḫḫima seized Zababa (too)." Zababa was sent out against Ḫaḫḫima after almost everything else was caught in his grip. The placement of the object stresses the fact that he, too, was seized. ^{d}Telibinun zik šanḫa[289] "You look for Telipinu!" This word order may be repeated in parallel clauses:

giš$_{luttauš}$ kammaraš ISBAT
pir tuḫḫuiš ISBAT[290]
"'mist' seized the windows
'vapor' seized the house."

In one case this word order is used to provide a climax to a series of parallel sentences. Five clauses in the series have regular word order, but in the sixth (final) one, it is reversed: ^{d}Nanayaš-ma-za ^{uru}Nenuwaš ešzi ^{uru}Babilan-ma-za ^{d}MARDUK-aš ešzi.[291] "Nanaya inhabits Nineveh, and Babylon Marduk inhabits." The emphasis on ^{uru}Babilan is also from the subject in the first clause to the object in the second as brought out by the transfer of the conjunction -ma.

The most fixed feature of Hittite word order is the fact that the verb stands at the end of the sentence,

with all the other elements enclosed before it. There are a number of exceptions to this in the myths. These fall into two categories: The verb may stand at the beginning of the sentence, and various elements may follow the verb.

The Akkadogram UMMA always stands at the beginning: UMMA ^{d}Inar ^{m}Ḫupašiya[292] "Thus saith Inara to Ḫupašiya." The verb's position at the beginning of a relative clause may be due to the fact that the relative pronoun usually stands in the second position in the sentence.[293] uizzi-ma-war-aš kuedani memiani nu-wa memiaš nakkiš[294] "The matter about which he is coming is serious." The verb is the only word which could precede the relative, unless the conjunction -ma were changed to nu-. Then the word order could be: nu-war-aš kuedani uizzi. A verb at the beginning of a question comes very close to English word order: autti-wa DUMU^{meš}-šmaš...[295] "Do you see your (pl.) children...?"

In other examples the reason is not as obvious: nan-kan kattanda dankuwai takni pait pait-aš-kan kattanda dankuwai takni ^{giš}SÚ.A-ki-ma-šan ^{d}Anuš ešat[296] "He went down to the netherworld. (After) he had gone down to the netherworld, Anu sat on the throne." The second clause is verbatim repetition of the first, with the exception that the verb has been placed at the beginning. The only

way to explain the repetition in this narrative context is to make the second clause a temporal subordinate clause depending on the third clause. Placing the verb at the beginning of the sentence may indicate this subordinate relationship and eliminate the need for a temporal conjunction. A close analogue to this passage is found in a prose text, the Tawagalawa letter: nu INA Mellawanda paun paun-ma kedaniya memini ḫandaš ANA Piyamaradu-wa [kue] AWATE^{meš} memaḫḫi...[297] "So I went to Mellawanda. But I went for this purpose, 'the words which I speak to Piyamaradu...'" Here the placement of the second paun at the beginning does not form a subordinate clause, but it does eliminate the need for repeating identical words in the same word order. In this clause, the verbs are identical, but not the entire clauses, as in "Kingship".

In a jussive sentence the subject stands quite naturally after the verb: paiddu ^{d}Telibinuwaš karpiš kardimiyaz wašdul šawar[298] "Go, anger, wrath, evil and malice of Telipinu!" In the examples which follow a noun placed after the verb is simply a feature of epic narrative style. The noun is lifted out of its grammatical context and placed by itself for emphasis. This creates a certain stately movement in the narrative and plays up the role of individual actors who are thus singled out. A

number of these examples are very short: pait-aš SAL-za[299] "She went, the woman." Notice that pait-aš completes the sentence with verb and enclitic pronoun in the nominative. The nominative case is resumed in the noun which has been placed outside the sentence. This pronoun is usually but not necessarily present: araiš-apa ^{m}Appuš[300] "He got up, Appu." The subject may be long, including an apposition: kaš-ma-war-aš uizzi Ištanuš KUR-etaš ^{lú}SIPA. UDU-aš[301] "Behold, he is coming, Istanu, the shepherd of the land." The device may be used in parallel sentences: le-ma-war-an aušzi ^{d}U-aš ^{uru}Kummiyaš ḫaštaliuš ḫaššuš nu-war-an-kan le kuenzi le-war-an aušzi IŠTAR-iš ^{uru}Ninuwaš ḫaššušaraš tar-x-x-kantaš SAL-aš[302] "He shall not see him, the Stormgod, brave king of Kummiya, and he shall not kill him. She shall not see him, Ištar, the queen of Nineveh, the ... woman." nan arait karpiš nan arait kardimiyaz nan wašdul arait šawar arait[303] "It lifted from him, the anger; it lifted from him, the wrath; the malice lifted from him and the anger lifted from him." It occurs in questions: kuwapi-war-at andan piddaiškanzi 2$^{lú.meš}$ ATḪUTIM[304] "Where are they fleeing, the two brothers?"

The same distribution applies to a direct object placed after the verb: našma-ta šiunaš pianzi l-an IBILA-an[305] "And the gods will give you a son." kuiš

war-an namma uškizzi uniyaš ḫalluwain[306] "Who will any longer endure it, this one's violence?" appa-at ḫešten annalla attalla ḫuḫatalla šiyannan parna[307] "Open them again, the old, fatherly, grandfatherly storehouses!" An expansion of the object may follow the verb: nu ḫuman mekki ḫandait GEŠTIN-aš DUG palḫi marnuwandaš DUG palḫi walḫiyaš DUG palḫi[308] "She prepared everything in abundance: jars of wine, jars of marnuwant (and) jars of walḫi." nu-ši kuinnaššan LIM paiš 1 LIM GUD$^{hi.a}$ 1 LIM UDU$^{hi.a}$ paiš[309] "Accordingly he gave to him one thousand: one thousand oxen and one thousand sheep he gave." In this last example the verb is actually repeated after the expanded object.

In one case, two clauses are repeated, with the subject after the verb of the first clause, and the object after the verb of the second:

KAxU-kan para allapaḫḫaš [^{d}Kumarbis] ḫattanza ḫaššuš
KAxU-kan para allapaḫḫaš KAxU[-alli(?)] anda immayin[310]

"Out of the mouth he spat, Kumarbi, the wise king.
Out of the mouth he spat saliva mixed together."

The result is a progressing parallelism, with a new thought added in the second clause.

Examples of nouns in the oblique cases after the verb occur occasionally. Dative case: le-wa-az duškiškitta PANI ŠÀ-KA[311] "Do not rejoice to yourself." ^{m}Kešši̯š ITU

3.KAM-aš HUR.SAG^{meš} anda wehatta appa-ma-šan URU-ZU šannapiliš numan paizzi kašti kaninti[312] "KeŠŠi wandered about in the mountains for three months, not about to go back to his city empty-handed -- in hunger and in thirst." Locative case: nu-zan ^{d}Inaraš ^{na4}peruni[šer] pir wetet INA KUR ^{uru}Tarukka[313] "Inara built a house on a rock in the land of Tarukka." Instrumental case in a series of parallel sentences:

ašma-ta armahhun ^{d}IM-nit nakkit
dan-ma-ta armahhun ^{íd}Aranzahit natta mazzuwaš
3-anna-ta armahhun nakkit ^{d}Tašmišut[314]

"First, I impregnated you with the important Stormgod.
Secondly, I impregnated you with the Tigris, not to be endured.
Thirdly, I impregnated you with the important Tašmišu."

Ablative case: araiš-apa ^{m}Appuš ^{giš}NÁ-az[315] "Appu arose from bed." In one sentence the adverb namma follows the verb: ašma-an hullanun [Ullikummin] ^{na4}kunkunuzzin nan itten zahheškitten namma[316] "First I struck him, Ullikummi, the basalt stone, so (now) you go to fight him again. This is clearly a case of emphasis. The Stormgod's previous efforts ended in utter failure. Now Ea has weakened the monster with the ancient cutting tool, and his command is that once again they should fight.

These nouns in the oblique cases are not presumed in the clause before the verb with an enclitic pronoun, although this would be possible, at least, for the dative-locative case. Also, as the translations in the above examples show, it is not easy to reflect the unusual word order in the English rendition.

This is not true in the cases involving a subject, or direct object. Here the English can follow the Hittite by using a pronoun with the noun in apposition: "Who will any longer endure it, this one's violence?" Güterbock, in his translation of the "Song of Ullikummi",[317] followed this procedure faithfully. In addition, however, he made a conscious effort to put the normal Hittite word order into the English translation. For example, a sentence in regular word order, Kumarbiš-za ḫattatar piran daškizzi, was put into English with exactly the same word order: "Kumarbi wisdom unto his mind takes."[318] A normal translation for this sentence would be: "Kumarbi takes wisdom unto his mind." By representing the regular Hittite sentence structure with an irregular English sentence structure, he has blurred over the distinct flavor of the Hittite idiom in those cases where it actually does veer from the norm.

The Hittite coordinate conjunctions are nu, "and, therefore," ta, "and", šu, "and", -ma, "and, but", and

-a(-ya after a vowel), "and, also". Of these, nu and -ma are used regularly and frequently in the myths. In the texts which I surveyed šu was used only once[319] and ta twice.[320] Since these conjunctions are characteristic of early Hittite,[321] this shows that the extant copies of the myths are written in later Hittite.

The enclitic conjunction -a, -ya is used sporadically throughout the myths, but it occurs twice as often in the Ḫattic as in the Ḫurrian myths. The use of this conjunction, especially in the Ḫattic myths, often does not comply with the grammatical distribution set up by Friedrich.[322] The rules Friedrich set up are as follows: -a, -ya connects like words in a sentence. SAG.GEME.ÍR^{meš} šiunaš-a LÚ-ya,[323] "servants, gods and men". It may also be omitted in this situation: attaš annaš[324], "fathers and mothers". The conjunction connects parallel clauses in which there is no progression in the action. nu ^{d}Telipinu šer arḫa duwan warnunun tuwan-a warnunnun[325] "Over Telipinu I have burned (sacrifices?) this way and I have burned that way." partawaš-šet-wa amiyanta apaš-a-wa amiyanza[326] "Its wings are small, and it is small itself (or, too)." Used with the negative it becomes the equivalent of "neither-nor." The only example of this in the myths is in the form of a question. natta-wa šakti ^{d}Upelluri memiyan-a-wa-ta natta kuiški udaš[327] "Don't you know, Upelluri? Has no one informed you?" Sometimes it is used with the meaning "also".

nu apatta-ya šakahhun[328] "And this, too, I knew not." nu apun-a-wa hahhimaš ISBAT[328] "And this one, too (as Zababa before), Hahhima seized."

The exceptions to these rules are numerous in the myths. -a may join two like clauses in which there is progression in the action. UMMA ABI ^{d}IM natta-wa uk waštahhun huhhaš-šiš-a tet ki utter urkiyami[330] "Said the father of the Stormgod: 'I did not sin'. And his grandfather said (in answer): 'This matter I will investigate'." -a may connect a principal clause to a preceding subordinate clause. ^{giš}ŠÚ.A-ki-ma-šan ^{d}Anuš ešat ^{d}Anuš-san ^{giš}SÚ.A-i-ši ešzi daššuš-a-ši ^{d}Kumarbiš KÚ-na peškizzi[331] "But Anu sat on the throne. (While) Anu sat on the throne, the mighty Kumarbi would give him food." The second and third clause switch to the present tense in a context of past tenses. The verb peškizzi is put in the present iterative to emphasize repeated, customary action. The verb in the second clause, ešzi, is in the present tense because the action of this verb is contemporaneous with that of the verb in the main clause (peškizzi). Besides, the fact that the second clause repeats the first with only a change of tense and word order can be explained only if the second clause is made dependant on the third. Thus -a serves as a conjunction between two unlike clauses, a subordinate and principal clause.

-a and nu are sometimes used interchangeably: namma-za UNUT MÈ anda epta ^{gis}MAR.GID.DA$^{hi.a}$-ya-[za] anda epta nu nepišaz arḫa alpa pedaš[332] "Then he took the battle gear, he took the carts, and brought the clouds from heaven." The three clauses are in a regular, parallel sequence of action. The first two are joined by -a, the second and the third by nu. Perhaps the writer uses -a in the first two, because their verbs are identical. In the third clause the different verb shifts the action, and nu is called for.

The conjunction -a is also used in a main clause following a temporal clause. man UD.20.KAM pait apaš-a ^{gis}luttanza arḫa šuwait nu DAM-ZU DUMU^{meš}-[ŠU aušta][333] "When twenty days had passed, he looked out the window and saw his wife and children." A parallel construction uses nu as a conjunction: man-aš šallešta-ma nu-za DUMU.SAL ^{muš}Illuyankaš DAM-anni daš[334] "When he had grown up, he took the daughter of Illuyanka for a wife."

-a is used in a clause which expresses the result of the preceding clause: kaša-wa ammel tueggaš-miš anta apaš-awa kuwapi ḫarakta[335] "Behold, my body is warm! (So) how can he have perished?" It is used as a conjunction in a relative clause: nu-za namma GUD$^{hi.a}$ UDU$^{hi.a}$ antuḫšaš natta ar̀mahḫanzi armawanteš-a kuieš nu-za ape-ya natta ḫašš̀anzi[336] "And cows, sheep and people do not become

pregnant again, and those who are pregnant do not give birth at that time." The series of main clauses are introduced with nu; the relative clause is subordinated with the use of -a. In several instances -a is used as a balancing device to emphasize parallel elements in a series of clauses. manšan Telipinuš-a kuedanikki nakkešzi uk-a šiunaš uddar memahhi tan mugami Ištanuš-a tezzi šiunaš uddar paiddu[337] "When Telipinu becomes troublesome to anyone, I will recite the words of the gods and beseech him, and Ištanu will say: 'Let the words of the gods go (forth).'" The conjunction picks out the three changing subjects, putting emphasis on the role of each character in the action. The clauses which are connected in this way do not have to be of parallel construction. The following example is a conditional sentence, in which -a points out a contrast between elements in each clause: takku-wa kuš-a GÌR^{meš}-uš ŠU$^{hi.a}$-uš [anda epši(?)] šakuwa-mit-a le epši[338] "(Even) if you take these feet and hands, my eyes you will not take." In these cases, the conjunction does not serve as a clause connector, it actually links individual words from different clauses together.

In one case -a is used without apparent reason. ^{d}Telipinuš-a arha iyanniš[339] "Telipinu went away." This is the first clause after a line divider. There is a complete break in thought with the preceding. It

is the equivalent of the first sentence in the paragraph. In this situation nu is sometimes used, but often omitted.[340]

Friedrich has left the impression that -a, -ya, in distinction from the others, is a conjunction of equivalence, joining like words and clauses. As we have seen, this is not always the case, especially in the Ḫattic myths. -a, -ya may join unlike clauses, and is used where the conjunction nu is usually expected. It is possible that the definition of this conjunction will have to be expanded to include these usages. It is also possible, since we have seen that these myths are on a rather low literary level anyway, that the Ḫattic myths are gramatically poorly written. This last possibility, of course, is the easy way out.

Summary

It was found that the Hittite myths were written in simple narrative prose. Only a few passages may be called poetic. In them uniform line length, parallelism, repetition and morphological rhyme were used to create a poetic pattern. Otherwise, the texts are written with great variation in line length. They are divided into paragraphs of varying length on the basis of units of thought and action described.

Short, one-term similes are common in the Ḫurrian

myths, but absent in the Hattic myths. In distinction from the more complex and sophisticated Homeric simile, these are purely descriptive and do not add to the development of the plot. There is no connection between the analogic magic used in the disappearing god cycle and these similes. On the other hand, the speech of the bad brother in the "Tale of Appu" is an inductive simile which could be patterned after analogic magic in its purpose to convince.

The scarcity of attributive adjectives led to the conclusion that outside of the short similes the myths are not very descriptive, and characterization of the actors is generally lacking. The myths exhibit an economy of words which keeps the action simple and moving swiftly. There are, however a number of epithets. These have not yet become as fixed as the Homeric epithets. Nevertheless, the same descriptives were usually repeated for the same characters, and in a few cases the epithet no longer applies to the character traits of the person it describes.

Repetition is used typically to retell the carrying out of instructions which have been fully described in the preceding paragraph and to report events which have just taken place. Repetition is also used for specific purposes: to achieve unity of plot, to summarize successive, similar events,and to drive home a desired point. Certain

events, such as the birth of a child and the dispatch of a messenger, are told in a standardized form which is repeated whenever such an event takes place. This standardization applies to the Hurrian but not to the Hattic myths.

Parallelism is found in both the Hattic and Hurrian myths. The Hurrian myths have a few traces of parallelismus membrorum, which points to the Babylonian background of these myths. Certain events, such as the months of pregnancy, are counted out literally to show the progression of time. The schematized count from one to seven occurs once in Hurrian mythology.

The extensive use of direct speech in all the myths greatly heightens their dramatic quality. These speeches are brought directly before the audience by the use of the historic present and the iterative in the verbs of speech. The verbs of speech used in literature of Hattic origin are different from those used in literature of Hurrian origin. In addition, the Hattic myths show a greater amount of freedom in the use of different verbs as verbs of speech, whereas the Hurrian literature is restricted to the use of the verb mema-. The idiom memiškiwan daiš has become standard for this purpose, although there is no apparent difference in meaning between this idiom and the much simpler memišta. The indicator of direct speech, -war, which is very regular in other Hittite literature, is

used very erratically throughout the myths. It is omitted almost as often as it is included, but no cause for this irregularity could be found, except that it is more often omitted with the imperative than with the indicative mood.

The organization of the myths again showed a decisive difference between Ḫattic and Ḫurrian mythology. The Ḫattic myths are usually closely connected with ritual or magic texts. Their individual structure has to be seen in the light of the overall organization of the larger body of literature in which they appear. In some, such as "The Moon who fell from Heaven", the myth is actually embedded in the ritual with the pattern, ritual--short myth--ritual. In the myth of the "Disappearance of Telipinu" a large section of analogic magic is included in the myth itself. The myth of "The Dragon Illuyanka" begins with a semi-poetic invocation and closes with a ritual.

The Ḫurrian myths form independent literary units, with well developed and unified plots. The endings have unfortunately been lost, but ther are remnants of introductions which may be called "proems". These proems give evidence of the fact that the myths were designed to be sung or recited. These introductions, although no real historic connection can be detected, are an important prototype for the introductions to the literature of

Homer and Hesiod. As a result of a comparison between their introductions, an amazing similarity was found in the plot development of the "Song of Ullikummi" and "The Iliad."

The analysis of the sentence structure of the myths showed that a great variety of word order is used in departure from the usual conjunction-enclitic-nominative-accusative-oblique-verb. The most striking of these variations is the abnormal placement of elements of the sentence after the verb, in apposition to the sentence, so to speak. This unusual word order results in a stately flow of the epic narrative.

A study of the sentence connectors brought to light the fact that, especially in the Ḫattic myths, the conjunction -a, -ya has a much wider distribution of function than has been recognized in Hittite grammar.

Throughout this study important differences between Ḫattic and Ḫurrian mythology have come to light. In general, it may be stated that the Ḫurrian myths are more sophisticated and better developed in literary form. The Ḫattic myths show a greater freedom in choice of expression and the application of grammar. The Ḫurrian myths tend toward standardized idiom and rigid formulas. This difference may indicate a variation in the tradition of the myths. It is possible that the Ḫurrian myths have a longer history of transmission. It certainly

reflects the difference in origin, the Hattic myths having originated with, or having passed through Hurrian hands. As such, the differences between them reflect a difference in ethnic origin. It is also possible that the differences depend on the function of the literature, the one body being used for ritual, the other, perhaps, for recitation or performance.

In distinction from Babylonian, Canaanite and Greek myths, the Hittite myths are prosaic rather than poetic. If their literary quality is seen in the light of these others, it must be said that the Hittite myths are written at a lower level. This must be qualified by the fact that Hittite is read under severe limitations. It is an Indo-European language written in cuneiform script. The true pronunciation of the words is largely unknown and can only be approximated at best. In addition, the texts are still liberally sprinkled with Akkadograms and Sumerograms for which no Hittite reading is known. As a result little can be done with accenting and word stress. Who knows? The literary quality of these texts may improve by leaps and bounds as our ability to scan them improves!

CHAPTER III

THE HITTITE MYTHS IN THE CONTEXT OF NEAR EASTERN MYTHOLOGY

In the previous chapter we have discussed the form of Hittite mythology. In this chapter we will turn to the content of the myths. For a determination of the style of the myths, it is important to see what type of story appealed to the mythographer and his audience, and what particular elements of these stories captured their imagination. It must be recognized that the Hittites were an integral part of Near Eastern civilization, and that their mythology arises out of this larger cultural, religious and literary atmosphere. That the Hittites were natural syncretists and borrowers is obvious from the fact that their mythological library included Hurrian, Canaanite, Babylonian, and perhaps even Indian myths along with the native Anatolian myths. It will therefore be beneficial to see what is shared with other literatures and to what extent it was adapted to the Hittite situation, and what is unique in the Hittite myths. In addition, a number of features of Hittite mythology have their

counterpart in the Greek myths. (Cf., for example, "Kingship in Heaven" and Hesiod's Theogony.) The similarities between the Hittite myths and these later myths must, therefore, also be included. Much of this is ground which has been covered before, so that in many cases I will limit myself to summarizing what has been published before for the sake of completeness. Because numerous differences in style became apparent between the Ḫattic and Ḫurrian myths in the preceding chapter, I will treat the two groups separately, beginning with the myths of Ḫattic origin.

In the myth of the Stormgod's conquest of the dragon Illuyanka we are immediately confronted with a theme that pervades all of Near Eastern literature. We need only mention the struggles of Marduk with Tiamat and her brood, of Baal with Yamm, of Jehovah with Rahab, Leviathan and Tannin, and of Zeus with Typhon.[1]

In the first version of the myth, the Stormgod, after he has been defeated by the serpent, receives assistance from the goddess Inara. She prepares a sumptuous feast, with emphasis on wine and alcoholic beverages, and invites Illuyanka and his brood out of their lair to partake. The success of this ruse has previously been attributed to the gullibility and stupidity of the serpent.[2] I wonder if it is really this

simple. The preparation of a meal as part of the display of hospitality, common in other Near Eastern literature,[3] is also known in the Hittite myths. When the Stormgod sees Ištanu approaching he immediately commands his vizier to prepare a meal.[4] He is forced to eat the repast before he can deliver his message, even though he is too nervous to eat. It is true that Inara prepares the meal for the specific purpose of tricking Illuyanka. Nevertheless, it is possible that the point of the ruse turns on the serpent's belief that he could respond to the invitation with immunity. His defeat, then, is not due to his stupidity, but to Inara's breach of the rules of hospitality.

Illuyanka and his brood drink every jar so that they become drunk, and are unable to return to their lair. Odysseus and his sailors used a similar ruse to escape from the Cyclops, Polyphemus.[5] The monster is inebriated on the sailors' wine, so that they are able to burn out his eye and escape under the bellies of his sheep.

The goddess Inara plays a striking role in this myth. The Stormgod is unable to defeat the serpent until she prepares his victim for the final blow. Before the final blow she adorns herself, so that Illuyanka is tempted to leave his lair by her seductive appearance as well as by the food and drink. Similarly, Ishtar tries to seduce the dragon Ḫedammu by adorning herself so that "loveliness and beauty ran after her like puppies",

and by displaying her nude body before him. The role of a goddess who acts as a helper to the Stormgod is known in other Hittite myths. In all cases the Stormgod is actually so helpless that he seems to rely entirely on the goddess' brains and prowess to maintain his lofty position. In the myth of "The Disappearance of Telipinu" it is the Mothergoddess, Hannahanna who directs the search. He is at wit's end. "What shall we do? Shall we die of hunger?" She promptly commands him to get busy and look for Telipinu. She is responsible for finding Telipinu by sending the bee after him. In the "Song of Ullikummi" Ishtar faces the stone monster on the Stormgod's behalf. The brave Stormgod has only had a look at Ullikummi, and he is defeated. He sits down on the ground, and, tears running down his face, cries out: "Who will any longer endure it, this one's violence? ..." Istar remarks (sarcastically): "O my brother! ... Bravery has been given to him tenfold." Then she leaves her cowardly brother to seduce the monster with her songs and her beauty. Perhaps Kumarbi was aware of the ways of the goddess, for he had designed his monster Ullikummi to be deaf and blind![6] In Ugaritic literature Anath plays an important role as the protectress of Baal. She boasts that she has defeated Yamm, Tannin and Mot for him in the past, implying that she is ready to fight for Baal again

if he is in trouble.

Like Tiamat, the salt water ocean, Rahab[8], Leviathan[9] and Yamm, Illuyanka is associated with the sea. In the second version of the myth the Stormgod goes down to the sea to fight the monster.[10]

In the second version Illuyanka has taken the Stormgod's eyes and heart in a previous encounter. The plot centers on the retrieval of these organs so that the Stormgod will be equipped to vanquish the monster. In the "Kingship of Heaven" Anu is defeated when Kumarbi has bitten off his "genitals." That the eyes are considered a symbol of strength is clear from the Yuzgat tablet. When Hahhima has "frozen" his hands and feet, the Stormgod claims defiantly: "(Even) if you take these hands and feet, my eyes you will not take!"

As in the first version, so here a ruse is employed The Stormgod marries the daughter of a poor woman. Their son takes Illuyanka's daughter for a wife. He is instructed to ask the serpent for the Stormgod's heart and eyes. When he has returned them, the Stormgod is able to vanquish the serpent. There is some similarity between this myth and Apollodorus' account of the battle between Zeus and the monster Typhon[12], as was pointed out by W. Porzig.[13] Zeus struck Typhon with thunderbolt and sickle, and pursued him as far as Mount Casius in Syria.

Here the two fight, but the wounded Typhon wrests the sickle from Zeus and cuts the sinews from his hands and feet. Typhon carries the disabled Zeus through the sea and imprisons him in the Corycian cave in Silicia. The sinews were hidden in a bearskin and guarded by Typhon's sister Delphyne. While Aigipan sidetracks Delphyne, Hermes steals the sinews and restores them to Zeus' body, who then returns to Olympus. Nonnus attributes the theft of the sinews to Cadmus, who told Delphyne he needed them for lyre-strings.[14]

In both myths parts of the body are cut out, although the parts are different in each case. In both, these parts are retrieved by a ruse, although these ruses, too, are different. Porzig points out that Delphyne was tricked into giving up the sinews, whereas the return of the heart and eyes depended on a legal situation.[15] The heart and eyes are payment of the kušata. This price is normally paid to the bride. However, H. Hoffner points out that, according to the law code, if the groom is an antiyants, he is entitled to payment from the girl's father.[16] This is apparently the case for the Stormgod's son. Illuyanka gave the heart and eyes up readily because he probably figured that the presence of the Stormgod's son was at least as good a guarantee against attack as the body members were. And this was his downfall, for the

Stormgod had planned the son for the very purpose of bringing the serpent low. He has no scruple against killing his own son when this becomes necessary to achieve his purpose. The point of the ruse is the Stormgod's betrayal of family ties. The battle in the myth of Illuyanka takes place by the sea. In the Greek myth Zeus is imprisoned in Silicia, on Anatolian soil. The eastern origin of the Greek myth is further hinted at by the presence of Cadmus in the tradition. The same type of family betrayal is known historically from the letter of king Arnuwanda to Maduwatta. Maduwatta schemed to lure Kupanta-KAL into his presence by offering his daughter to him in marriage. Then, once Kupanta-KAL was an unsuspecting family member, he planned to kill him.[17]

The motif of the loss of body members, such as heart and eyes is virtually unknown in the Semitic myths. In the Egyptian "Tale of Two Brothers" Anubis finds Bata's heart and places it in a cup of water. The heart sucked up the water, and, as a result, Bata was restored to life.[18]

A unique feature of the myth of Illuyanka is the role of the mortal. Inara asks Hupasiya for help. He concedes on condition that he may sleep with her. The idea of gods consorting with men, though common in Greek literature is rare in Near Eastern mythology. Ishtar makes advances on Gilgamesh[19], but he, after all, is only

one third human and two thirds divine.[20] Ḫupašiya's only function in the conquest of Illuyanka is to bind him after he has been immobilized by Inara's repast. Afterwards, Inara builds a house for him on a rock. He is confined there with strict orders not to look out the window, lest he see his wife and children. Thus tragedy is introduced. Ḫupašiya is bound to look. After twenty days he breaks through the window and sees his family. When Inara returns, he confronts her, weeping continually: "Let me return home!" She promptly kills him.

Odysseus, too, would not trade his love for wife and home for that of a goddess. Confined by Calypso, he was forced to sleep by her side by night, but by day he would sit on the beach, weeping profusely, and looking longingly across the sea in the direction of his home.[21] Not even the offer of immortality could keep him![22] Calypso laments the fact that the gods disapprove of a divine-human alliznce.[23] There is no such disapproval in the Hittite story. Nevertheless, the fact that the union had a tragic ending may imply this lack of approval.[23] The same note of tragedy is involved in the second version. The half-mortal son of the Stormgod has been destined from the beginning to share in the conquest of the serpent. When the battle finally comes he is a member

of both families. As the death blow is about to be given he shouts up to the Stormgod with a cry of desparate decision: "Include me! Don't be friendly to me!"[24] In both stories the human characters are inevitably caught up in the tragic forces of fate. Ḫupašiya could not keep himself from looking through the window, and the Stormgod's son could not help crying out any more than Lot's wife could keep from looking at Sodom, and Orpheus from glancing back at Eurydice.[25]

The other major cycle of Ḫattic myths deals with "The God who Disappeared." Many different deities are cast in the role of the vanishing god, and even the versions containing the same god vary in detail.[26] Telipinu and the Stormgod are best known in this role, because their versions are best preserved. Of these two, Telipinu has usually been considered primary in this cycle, because texts dealing with him are better preserved, and because he has been labeled as a vegetation god.[27] Otten, on the other hand, speculates that the myth may have originated with the Stormgod: "Es scheint night unmöglich, dass die Fassung die den Wettergott nennt, die ursprünglichere ist und der Mythus erst sekundär auf den kleinasiatischen Telipinu übertragen ist."[28] He considers it possible that the myth is not native to Anatolia.

The role of Telipinu as a vegetation god is deduced from a statement by his father, the Stormgod: "Summon

Telipinu! That one, my important son, plows, irrigates the fields and produces grain".[29] In this myth, known as "The Disappearance of the Sun", Hahhima, "torpor", has paralyzed all of nature, including even the gods. Two gods are best equipped for counteraction: the Sungod, because he gives warmth[30] and Telipinu, because he takes care of agriculture. A search is on for the Sungod, because his warmth is needed to "thaw out" nature. As long as he is absent Telipinu is best suited to take on Hahhima. If this myth is correctly associated with the cold of winter, then at least one of Telipinu's functions is agricultural: to inaugurate the spring season with plowing and irrigation, and to supervise the growth of produce.

In the myth of "The Disappearance of Telipinu", however, his function may be broader. The result of his disappearance effects the whole realm: Houses and windows are seized by mist (so that they are no longer habitable?), wood no longer burns in the fireplace, the gods are stifled at the altar, produce no longer grows and is lacking, men and animals no longer conceive, those who are pregnant cannot bear, and those who have young neglect them.[31] After Telipinu returns and his anger has been stilled, he once more cares for the king and queen,[32] so that the rule of the whole realm was apparently affected by his period of sulking. If it is true that Telipinu took over

the role of the vanishing god from the Stormgod, it may well be that he also took over the characteristics of the Stormgod. He may therefore, originally have been a vegetation god only, but as the cult of the Stormgod became popular, he assimilated the Stormgod's attributes in his character. Güterbock summarizes the similarities in attributes and function between the two gods as follows: The myth of the disappearance is also told of the Weather-god, in all points parallel. When wakened by the bee, Telipinu behaves like a stormgod. He is angry, he thunders with lightning and he hits the dark earth below. The calamaties in the myth are not limited to vegetation, but to all areas of life. Restitution includes rain and wind. In a list of cult deities[33] Telipinu and his wife Hatipuna are listed among the weathergods. On the other hand, a hymn concerning Telipinu in the prayer of Muršili[34] is the exact equivalent of a hymn to the Sungoddess of Arinna.[35] He concludes that the phenomena of weather and vegetation are closely connected, so that the association of attributes pertaining to both in one god should not be surprising.[36]

This uncertain definition of Telipinu's character makes identification of this cycle with the seasonal pattern of the dying and returning god already tentative. Gaster types this myth as such,[37] and Otten asserts that

at least traces of the pattern are present: "Es scheint mir demnach heute alles dafür zu sprechen, dass in einem starkeren Masse, als es bischer schien, Vorstellungen des Tammuz-Adonis-Kreises auch im kleinasiatischen Mythus wirksam gewesen sind, wie ja auch in den Mythen von Ugarit sich beim Kampfe von Ba'al und Mot die Vorstellung vom scheidenden und wiederkehrenden Gotte findet."[38] Güterbock, however, states that there is no analogy between these myths and the "myths of 'dying gods' of other people".[39]

The similarity between this and the "dying god" cycles is only a general one. The idea is, that on the divine level, when a god is absent or has died, catastrophe occurs in the world of men. The specific mythological application of this principle differs in detail in each culture. Telipinu hides himself in the marsh, where he goes to sleep. Baal, Ishtar, Tammuz and Adonis all descend to the netherworld, where they are considered dead. At least, without the use of some extraordinary assistance, return is not possible. The cause for Telipinu's disappearance is not known. All we know is, that he is angry. In the other myths, the descent is caused by conflict among the gods. Ishtar descends to wrest control of the realm of the netherworld. Tammuz is taken down as a substitute for Ishtar, so that she may remain

alive. Adonis went to the netherworld so that Persephone could share him semi-annually with Aphrodite. Baal descends to the netherworld to face Mot, by whom he is vanquished. This descent can better be compared to the "Kingship in Heaven", where Alalu, defeated by Anu, flees from heaven to the netherworld.[40] The duration of the absence is not at all specified in the Hittite myths. For Baal and Mot the cycle lasted seven years.[41] This ties in with the seven year cycle of famine in Scripture.[42] In the "Descent of Ishtar" the schematic seven appears in the seven gates through which descent to and ascent from the netherworld was made.[43]

A unique feature of the myth is the wrath of Telipinu.[44] This wrath in itself precludes any cyclic recurrence of the events of the myth. Since we are not told the cause of the wrath, although it may have been mentioned in the broken beginning, one would be able to interpret any event which was followed by catastrophe as provocation of the god's anger. This sporadic nature of the god's wrath and disappearance is in keeping with other Hattic myths. We have an example of the Stormgod's wrath in "The Moon who Fell from Heaven." The Stormgod's anger at the Moon having fallen from heaven causes him to send down[45] thunder, lightning, rains and winds, so that everyone is terrified. The encompanying ritual closes with the instruction: "When(ever) the Stormgod thunders in a violent manner,

the priest of the Stormgod will do as described."[46] In other words, the ritual with the recitation of the myth were to be applied whenever the occasion arose. The myth of Telipinu was used in the same way. It is not associated with official cultic practices, but with private ritual which "serves to reconcile the vanished deity with a certain individual, who may be a queen or a private person, and to secure well-being, probably also offspring, for that person and his or her household."[47]

Wrath and absence together cause catastrophe. On the surface this seems to fit well together. The angry god goes off to sulk in the marshes. This type of behavior is all right for the mortal Achilles, but one would expect a god to jump into action, to correct and punish the affront which aroused his anger.[48] It is well possible from the structure of the myth, that wrath and disappearance were the themes of two separate myths which have been brought together in one story. The myth about Telipinu opens with Telipinu's wrath[49] and a description of the resulting catastrophes.[50] Then it is stated that Telipinu went away and lost himself in the marsh, accompanied by another statement of the catastrophes.[51] One of the catastrophes, the sterility of the animals, is repeated in both accounts. The anger and absence are brought together when the Stormgod announces to the assembled gods: "My son, Telipinu is not here. He became angry and has taken every

good thing along."[52] The next section of the myth is preoccupied with efforts to find the god. His anger is not mentioned again until the bee finally finds him. Telipinu wakes up in a violent rage at having been stung by the bee.[53] The next section of the myth is the ritual of Kamrušepa, devoted solely to abate the god's anger. Finally, when his anger has gone, he returns, and the restoration is told in a single account.[54] Since the two themes occur almost solely in exclusive sections of the myth, there is a good possibility that it is a collation of two different stories, the one with the theme of wrath, the other with the theme of absence. If this is true, the collation could be the origin of Telipinu's mixed character, his role as a vegetation god corresponding to the theme of absence, and his role as a stormgod corresponding to the theme of wrath.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that in distinction from other absent-god myths, the Hattic myths have a ritual setting. In the other myths, the central preoccupation is with the divine history itself, and little is said about the catastrophes occurring on the human level. The "Descent of Ishtar", for example, mentions the catastrophe (interms similar to the Hittite myth) in only several lines.[55] In the Hittite myth the central emphasis is on the resulting catastrophe. The gods

themselves are involved in the misery. The myth begins with desolation and ends with restoration. The sense of urgency that runs throughout the myth is not for Telipinu's well-being (as Anath is concerned over Baal's well-being), but for repair of the damage that his absence and wrath have brought. To be sure, the gods' own safety and well-being is at stake! It is doubtful whether they had concern for the fate of mankind, but human and divine destiny is so closely tied together in the catastrophe that man stands to benefit from the gods' search for relief. And this is exactly what makes the myth relevant in its ritual application.

In turning to Hurrian mythology, we are at once confronted with the well-known parallels between "Kingship in Heaven", "The Song of Ullikummi", and Hesiod's Theogony. This correspondence was first pointed out by E. Forrer in Mélanges Cumont[56] in 1936. In 1946 Güterbock presented a comprehensive analysis of the parallels between the Hittite stories and the Greek, Babylonian and Phoenician myths in his publication Kumarbi. This same study was presented two years later in the English language in the American Journal of Archeology.[57] More recent evaluations were written from the classicists' point of view by Albin Lesky[58] and P. Walcot.[59] At present there is little doubt that the

connection between Hurrian and Greek literature is factual: "Today there is no reason for us to doubt that the Epic of Kumarbi and the Song of Ullikummi reproduce the scheme of the Theogony, and that we must argue for an intimate connection between the Greek poem and these Hittite Myths."[60] The parallels will be summarized briefly.

In "Kingship in Heaven" the succession of gods is Alalu-Anu-Kumarbi-Stormgod. Anu is not known from Hittite literature as the son of Alalu, but this is deduced from Sumerian lists of gods.[61] Kumarbi is known as the son of Anu from a Hittite fragment.[62] Kumarbi bites off Anu's genitals and is thus impregnated with the three gods, the Stormgod, Tašmišu and the Tigris. In the Theogony, the corresponding father-son succession is Uranos-Cronos-Zeus. Uranos is preceded by Chaos, but his correspondence with Alalu is not clear. Like Kumarbi, Cronos emasculates his father, but with a sickle, made of flint by Gaia. From the blood which spills on the earth three groups of creatures - the Erinyes, the Giants and the Nymphs - are born, and from the members themselves, cast into the sea, Aphrodite is born. The female counterparts of the Greek gods--Gaia and Rhea--are absent in the Hittite myth. The creatures descended from Cronos were actually never inside him, as was the case with Kumarbi. Besides, Zeus was not one of these creatures, as the Stormgod was. Cronos

swallows up all his children, but Rhea substitutes a stone for Zeus. Kumarbi too spits out an awesome god. Later he asks: "give me my son! I will devour ..."[63] Whether this actually means that he will devour the Stormgod is not clear; the context is badly damaged. The birth of the Stormgod is not recorded until later.[64] Although some of the details are in doubt because of the bad state of preservation of "Kingship in Heaven", the parallel in the succession itself is clear.

Parallels between Hesiod and "The Song of Ullikummi" are less clear. The Stormgod is already on the throne of heaven, and the older god, Kumarbi, is trying to regain it with the help of the monster Ullikummi. Zeus, on the other hand, is the younger god who fights his father Cronos and the Titans, and, after defeating, them takes control of the pantheon. It may well be that a similar battle was recorded between Tešub and Kumarbi in the final columns of "Kingship in Heaven".[65] If the "Song of Ullikummi" is a sequel to this myth, it would make sense. For in the "Song", the Stormgod is already on the throne of heaven, while "Kingship" breaks off with Kumarbi still in control. In this case Hesiod offers another parallel. After he is in control he is suddenly faced with the monster, but a dragon with a hundred snake heads. In later versions of this story the parallel is closer.

In Apollodorus (already mentioned as a parallel to the Illuyanka myth) Typhon is a creature so tall that he reaches the sky, and the locale of the battle is Mt. Casius in Syria. Ullikummi, too, reaches up to the sky, and the Stormgod and his vizier face him from Mt. Ḫazzi. Zeus' imprisonment is in Cilicia, on Anatolian soil. In desperate fear of Typhon, the Greek gods flee to Egypt. The Hittite gods cower in fright before Ullikummi. In Hesiod's version Typhoeus is a son of Gaia, but not of Cronos. Ullikummi, however, was the child of Kumarbi. In a scholion to the Iliad,[66] Typhon grows up in Cilicia from two eggs fertilized by Cronos.

After such definite parallels have been established, the problem still is: How did these myths travel from the Hurro-Hittite sphere to the Greek sphere? It is unlikely that the Greeks learned them from the Hittite descendents directly. It is possible that these myths were court epics and not part of popular lore. And even if they were known on a popular level, the population of Anatolia changed so rapidly after the fall of the Hittite Empire, that these myths would no longer have been known in classical Greek times. And yet, as our knowledge of contacts between Mycenaeans and Hittites of the late empire increases, the possibility of a direct transmission of these myths becomes more plausible.

Güterbock, however, posits the theory that the basic structure of the succession is of Babylonian origin. It was taken over by the Ḫurrians, and transmitted to the Greeks by way of the Phoenicians.[67]

For Babylonian origin he posits the following arguments.[68] The Babylonian influence on the Ḫurrian mythology is obvious. While many Babylonian ideograms have Ḫurrian names behind them, other gods are known directly by their Babylonian names: Alalu, Anu, Enlil (Ellillu) and Ea (A'a). Ea, in his assistance to Tešub, plays the role of the good and wise god, just as he does in the Babylonian context. The sequence Alalu-Anu-Kumarbi finds its parallel in the Babylonian sequence Alalu-Anu-Enlil. This is not a complete parallel, because Enlil's father is Enmešarra, not Anu. The correspondence of Enlil and Kumarbi is likely. In a bilingual text Enlil is given in the Akkadian version for Kumarbi in the Hittite.[69] In our context Enlil appears as a separate character. Kumarbi, on the other hand, goes to Nippur[70], the cult-center of Enlil. The process of having younger gods replace older ones is known from the Enuma Elish. This story differs greatly in detail from the Ḫurrian myths with the exception of one. The cutting tool used to separate Ullikummi from Upelluri's shoulder was the same one used to separate heaven and earth. In

the Sumerian and Babylonian creation heaven and earth were also cut apart. In one Sumerian text a cutting-tool (AL) is used for the purpose.

That the Phoenicians were acquainted with this succession of the gods is recorded by Philo of Byblos, who claims he is quoting the works of Sanchuniaton, who, he says, lived in the time of the war of Troy.[71] The succession given by him is Eliun-Ouranos-El-Cronos. Since in the Ugaritic texts the double name il.kmrb occurs,[72] this sets up the equation El=Cronos=Kumarbi. Although Baal is not mentioned by Philo, in Ugaritic literature he is the successor of El, who is already an older god. So by combining the evidence from Philo, and Ugarit, the phoenician succession is as follows: Eliun-Ouranos-El-Baal.[73]

Aside from these significant parallels, other motifs are present in the Hurrian literature. In the tale of Appu, when the Sungod approaches, the Stormgod promptly commands: "Order the cook and the cupbearer to give him to eat and to drink!"[74] In the "Song of Ullikummi" too, the first item of business for the visiting Sungod is a meal. It doesn't matter that his business is "heaven's uproar" and "the land's hunger and death."[75] That the Sungod is so upset that he cannot eat isn't noticed. The first concern is that his lack of appetite

was caused by poor service at the dinner table.[76] When the three men appear to Abraham under the oaks of Mamre, he prepares a meal for them, and they eat, before stating their business.[77] Eleazer, on the other hand, refuses to eat until he has made his proposal to Laban.[78]

H. Hoffner has discussed a number of elements in the myths of Hurrian origin which have parallels in Greek and East Mediterranean literature:[79] Upelluri, who holds up heaven and earth reminds one of Atlas in function and stupidity. In the "Song of Ullikummi" he had been supporting the monster Ullikummi on his right shoulder without being aware of it. All he knew was that something made his shoulder hurt. Heracles asks Atlas to hold the sky for him while he puts a pad on his shoulder to ease the pressure. Of course, the gullible Atlas is left holding the sky while Heracles makes off with the golden apples. Ishtar's attempt to charm Ullikummi with her beauty and music is reminiscent of the Greek Sirens who seduced passing sailors with their alluring music. Unfortunately, Ullikummi was deaf, blind and merciless. Ishtar makes a similar, but more successful display before the dragon Hedammu. Hebat, the Stormgod's wife, stands on the palace tower waiting for news from her battling husband, attended by her ladies in waiting in the same way as Sisera's mother anxiously awaits word from her son in the Song

of Deborah. Births of children predestined for some outstanding function are also in evidence. Kumarbi's monster-child is named Ullikummi because he is destined to defeat the Stormgod and crush his city Kummiya. Until he matures Ullikummi is hidden below the sea from the sight of the gods, just as Moses was hidden in a basket from the sight of Pharaoh and Sargon of Akkad was set adrift in a basket to be reared by an obscure peasant. Appu gives his sons a bad name and a good name in keeping with the signs of their births. Living up to his name, the bad son tries to cheat the good son out of his proper share of the inheritance. Appu himself resembles Job in many ways. He is the richest in his land. Cursed with childlessness, he suffers most when he sits among his friends who are more fortunate. When his wife mocks him for his misfortune, he answers: "You are a woman and of a woman's temperament! You understand nothing!" When Job's wife taunts him to curse his God, he tells her: "You speak as one of the foolish women would speak." The Appu story also represents the motif of a quest for an heir, which is a familiar and important aspect of both the story of Abraham and the epic of Kret.

The story of the "Cow and the Fisherman" also deals with the themes of childbirth and childlessness, but in quite a different way than the "Tale of Appu".

The unfortunate man is not a wealthy member of the upper class, as Appu is, he is a lowly Fisherman. Just as in the story of Appu, it is the Sungod who relieves his misery, but not through a conventional pregnancy and birth. The Sungod has impregnated a cow. He had to rescue the child from the cow who threatened to devour the two-legged (human) monster. Unlike Baal's impregnation of a cow and the resulting birth of a calf,[80] which is in the context of fertility, the Sungod's relations with the animal seem to be quite incidental. When he spots the cow grazing in a lush meadow he is seized with desire for her. Before the actual union takes place he reprimands the animal for ruining the lush grass in his meadow. The Sungod has no need for the child of his strange love affair, for he leaves it as a foundling for the fisherman. For the fisherman, too, the child does not seem to be as important as Appu's children were for him. True, he "began to dandle the child and he rejoices over it",[81] but one wonders if his joy is over the child itself, or over the profitable use to which he plans to put it. He makes his wife go to bed and scream as though she is the one who has given birth to the child, so that when the people from the village hear her, they will bring bread, beer and fat meat. The child is only a means to the good food and drink! What becomes of the child when it grows up is not known, for the rest

of the story is lost. Thus, the whole story, although it has typical features, is on a different level from other epics. Its characters are common people, rather than aristocrats or heroes and the usually serious business of childbirth is turned into a humorous ploy.

Typically, these stories, for all their emphasis on childbirth, pay little attention to romantic love.[82] Appu is ridiculed by his wife, and their sleeping together is solely for the purpose of pregnancy. The only reference to the relationship between the fisherman and his wife is the fact that she had once neglected his command, and that, as a result, she was punished with infertility.[83] The story of Kešši does present a romantic picture. His wife was beautiful and equipped with every good quality, so that Kešši paid attention only to her.[84] But the picture of romance is given only as the reason for tragedy. Kešši's love life ruins his career as a hunter. He no longer takes care of the gods with bread offerings and wine libations, and he doesn't go hunting any more. He has time only for his wife. His mother nags at him because he doesn't bring her game any more. So here too, there is no interest in romantic love itself. It is only mentioned in the story as the reason for Kešši's failure as a hunter.

As seen from this survey, the Hittite myths are representative of the Near Eastern literary interests

of its day. The stories contain many elements which are found in Mesopotamian and West Semitic literature. At the same time, numerous mythological motifs appear again in the Greek myths. That the Hittites played a part in the transmission of ideas from the Semitic world to the Greek world has become obvious. The nature of this transmission, and the extent to which the Hittites participated is still far from clear. Hopefully, this mystery will be solved as the "darkness" of the Mycenaean age fades before the continuous flow of new historic evidence involving the Hittites.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER I

[1]E. Laroche, "Catalogue des Textes Hittites", Revue Hittite et Asianique, XIV (1956), no. 231. For a recent translation and discussion of points of style cf. H. A. Hoffner, "The Elkunirsa Myth Reconsidered", Revue Hittite et Asianique, XXIII (1965), p. 5-16.

[2]Laroche, Catalogue, 246.

[3]Hans G. Güterbock, "Hittite Mythology", Mythologies of the Ancient World, ed. Samuel Noah Kramer (New York: Doubledays' Company, 1961), p. 173.

[4]Laroche, Catalogue, 227-230.

[5]Götze, Kleinasien, p. 65.

[6]Güterbock, p. 141-179.

[7]e.g., The Myth of Telipinu, Catalogue, 258.

[8]e.g., Myths of Kamrušepa. E. Laroche, "Mythologie Anatolienne", RHA 77 (1966) p. 166-176.

[9]Güterbock, p. 143.

[10]O. R. Gurney, The Hittites (Baltimore; Penguin Books, 1961), p. 188.

[11]Güterbock, p. 143.

[12]Laroche, Catalogue, 258-259, 261-262, 264-271.

[13]Laroche, Catalogue, 263.

[14]Laroche, Catalogue, 260.

[15]Laroche, Catalogue, 257.

[16]Laroche, Catalogue, 360.

[17]Laroche, Catalogue, 238.

[18]Laroche, Catalogue, 239.

[19]Laroche, Catalogue, 232.

[20]Laroche, Catalogue, 234.

[21]Laroche, Catalogue, 237.

[22]Laroche, Catalogue, 233.

[23]Laroche, Catalogue, 235-236.

[24]Cuneiform texts: Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, XVII, 10; XXXIII, 1-12. Edited transliterations: Heinrich Otten, "Die Überlieferungen des Telipinu-Mythus", Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-aegyptischen Gesellschaft 46, 1 (Leipzig, 1942). E. Laroche, "Mythologie Anatolienne", Revue Hittite et Asianique, 77 (1966), pp. 89-110. Translations: Albrecht Götze, "Hittite Myths, Epics, and Legends", Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, ed. James B. Pritchard (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 126-128. Albrecht Götze, Kleinasian (Munchen: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandel, 1957), pp. 143-144. Theodore H. Gaster, Thespis (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966), pp. 295-315.

[25]Götze, ANET, p. 126; Otten, Die Überlieferungen des Telipinus-Mythus (TM), pp. 50-51.

[26]Ḫannaḫanna is also written with the Sumerograms, ^{d}MAḪ and ^{d}NIN.TU. Her Hittite name is a reduplication of the word ḫanna-, grandmother. Generally known as the goddess of birth, in the Hattian myths she has an uncanny ability to take charge, at times when even the mighty Storm-god wilts in the face of disaster. cf. E. Laroche, Recherches sur Les Noms

des Dieux Hittites (Paris: Libraire Orientale et Américaine, 1947), p. 73.

[27]Cuneiform text: KUB XXXIII 24-30; XXXVI 71. Editions and transliterations: Otten, TM, p. 67 ff.; Laroche, RHA 77, pp. 111-119. Translation: Hans G. Güterbock, Mythologies of the Ancient World, pp. 144-148.

[28]This expansion is a good indication that the Storm-god version is later than the Telipinu version. For greater expansion over a much longer period of time, compare the Sumerian and Babylonian versions of the Gilgamesh Epic. cf. T.B.L. Webster, From Mycenae to Homer (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1964), pp. 79-81.

[29]KUB XXXIII 5, II l. 15, 16: a [-pa-a-ša-an] [pa-i]z-zi u-e-mi-iz-zi. The construction of the verb pai, to go, in the same tense as the verb immediately following is best translated with the English idiom "going to".

[30]Perhaps this is a mythological picture of an earthquake, a frequent Anatolian disaster. An earthquake would be a fitting climax to the disastrous standstill of all nature, and would reflect the renewed upsurge of Telipinu's anger.

[31]This passage is badly broken, and not clear at all. Götze translates (ANET, p. 127): "Let him (man) make him move! With the eagle's wing let him make him move!"

[32]Kamrušepa is a goddess with origin at Kaneš. She is the mother of Aruna, the Seagod, and the goddess of magic and healing. Hence, she plays a frequent role in mythological

ritual performances. cf. La Roche, Recherches Sur Les Noms Des Dieux Hittites, p. 67; Götze, Kleinasien, pp. 134, 144.

[33]Götze translates zakki - as "handle" (ANET, p. 128). "Bar", or "lockbolt" seems to fit the context better. cf. J. Friedrich, Hethitisches Wörterbuch, 3. Erganzungsheft, p. 38.

[34]The meaning "security" for innarawatar is uncertain. It is parallel to ḫuišwatar, "life". It could also be "prosperity" or "might".

[35]Cuneiform texts: KUB XXXVI 44; A. Götze, ed., Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte (Marburg: 1930), 58, known as the Yuzgat tablet. Edition and transliteration: Laroche, RHA 77, pp. 81-88. Translations: O. R. Gurney, The Hittites, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1961), pp. 187-188; T. H. Gaster, Thespis, pp. 270-294.

[36]Gurney, p. 187.

[37]Laroche, p. 81.

[38]ḫalḫaldannaiš

[39]ḫappenikku GIŠ-ikku ḫahḫalikku. ḫappinan taru, "rich wood", is contrasted to ḫahḫal-, "underbrush". The idiom probably means "mature woods".

[40]ikšaiškitta

[41]Restored from VBOT 58 I l. 7 cf. A. Götze, "Nochmals šakkiyah(ḫ)-", Kleinasiatische Forschungen I, (1927-30) p. 402-403.

[42]The above is KUB XXXVI 44 I, l. 1-19. What follows is a translation of VBOT 58 in its entirety.

[43]Goetze, p. 403. He translates ḫaḫḫima conjecturally as "Starrheit".

[44]Therefore concluding that the Sungod cannot be far off.

[45]ZA.BA$_4$.BA$_4$ is a god of battle, with Ḫattian name, Wurukatte, Hurrian name Aštapi, but his Hittite name is unknown. Laroche, Recherches sur les Noms des Dieux Hittites, p. 107.

[46]Generic name of all protector gods, known from Sumerograms ^{d}KAL and ^{d}LAMA, but Hittite name uncertain. Laroche, p. 100.

[47][Ú-U]L-wa-ra-aš gi-im-ra-aš DUMU-aš. Perhaps the expression "son of the field" means something like "used to the outdoors." This indicates that Ḫaḫḫima has power only outdoors, and may well be a weather phenomenon.

[48] na4piruluwari - possibly a 3rd s. pres. med.-pass. verb., but meaning unknown.

[49]kuši = kueši from kuen-, "to kill".

[50]Ḫaššimili is a god who occurs in ritual texts, but rarely elsewhere. The brothers of Ḫaššimili are known only from this reference. Laroche, p. 23.

[51]The brothers of Ḫaššimili are called pappanikneš, which Friedrich translates as "junger Bursche", young lad. cf. Friedrich, HW, fascicle 3, p. 25. The term is used here in a derogatory sense, playing up the inexperience of the brothers of Ḫaššimili.

[52]damenk-, "to hold fast". If the interpretation of ḫaḫḫima as frost is correct, the word here means "stuck" or

"frozen". Gaster translates "glued", but Götze renders the whole phrase: "you will [no l]onger hold this same GAL." Gaster, Thespis, p. 291; Götze, JCS 6, p. 101.

53 ^{sal}annanna- = "grandmother"? The word is a reduplication of anna-, "mother", possibly an original genitive relationship annaš anna-, "mother's mother". cf. the expression DUMU DUMU-ŠU, "grandson", of which there is no Hittite equivalent as yet. It could be a personal name: ^{f}Annannaš. KUB I 1, col. I, l. 3.

54 ahhati, possibly uhhati, "I saw. Cf. KUB XXXVI 101 rev. III 11, where a-wa-ah-ha-ti occurs. It is possible too that this ending is part of the preceding (broken) word.

55 ZAG-nit, instrumental case of ZAG-na, "the right".

56 ^{D}meš̆an uttar. Gaster interprets the recitation of "the word of the gods" as the reciting of the myth, which involves "the fundamental parallelism between ideal and real." Gaster, Thespis, pp. 292-293. Whether there is a connection between "the words of the gods" and the preceding myth is by no means clear from the context.

57 Laroche reads ne-ez-za-an, "and them". This could be IZI-i-za-san, "into the fire", or, IZI ezzan, "into the fire chaff" RHA 77, p. 85.

58 aiš-(š)mit halaš-(š)mit hattal[un] [xx]-x-ma išgaraqqaš. Gaster translates: "has ritually sprinkled her mouth with ..." Gaster, p. 291. The possessive pronouns, however, can either be first pers. sing., or third plur., not third sing. išgaraqqaš looks like a verb form from

iškark-. NA_4 iš-kar-kán-wa-mu ú-eš-ta, "he is covering (dressing) me (with) a NA_4 iškarkan" occurs in KUB XXXIII 55 obv. II 8.

59 $uzu_{harš}$[a-

60Nevertheless, elaborate ritual instructions follow.

61Gaster, Thespis, 273. Friedrich, HW, p. 45. hahhaliya-, "to become stiff".

62To have two unrelated texts recorded on one tablet is, nevertheless, not uncommon at Boğasköy. Cf. KBo I 24; KBo IV 2; KUB 2; III 84; etc.

63Cuneiform texts: KUB XII 60; XXXIII 81.

64Conjectural restoration according to KUB XXXVI 44 col. I, l. 5. Laroche, RHA 77, p. 79, note 3.

65Laroche reads [n]a-na-an-ku-uš-zi. RHA 77, p. 19. The ku sign is large enough to be read as ma, and there is a sufficient separation of signs so that the readings x-na-an ma-uš-zi, "he falls" or x-na-an kušzi, "it is difficult", are possible.

66Restore kat-ta-an pé-e har-ta in harmony with KUB XXXVIII 26 obv. 12.

67Restore [ku-ša-a-ta] in KUB XII 60 I 20.

68Laroche, p. 19, note 1.

69Cuneiform texts: KBo III 7; XII 83, 84; KUB XVII 5, 6; XII 66; XXXVI 54. Editions and transliterations: Laroche, RHA 77, p. 66-72. Transliterations: Götze, Kleinasien, pp. 140-141; Götze, ANET, pp. 125-126; Gaster, Thespis, 256-269.

Summaries: Gurney, The Hittites, pp. 181-182; Güterbock in Mythologies of the Ancient World, pp. 150-152.

[70]Götze translates: "(the version which) they no longer tell." ANET, p. 125. This requires the connection of nu and ma-a-an to nu-u-ma-a-an, "no longer". However, according to Otten, "nu ma-a-an deutlich getrennt." Orientalia 20, p. 133. Although the translation "no longer" seems to make the existence of two widely variant versions clear, the text as it stands calls for the more difficult "and when".

[71]Possibly the new year's festival. Götze, Kleinasien, p. 139.

[72]Götze translates argatiya- as "come to grips". ANET.

[73]A Ḫattic (certainly not Indo-European) goddess. Laroche, Recherches sur les Noms des Dieux Hittites, pp. 82-83. For the equation "^{d}Inara = ^{d}KAL", cf. H. Otten, Archiv für Orientforschung 17, p. 369.

[74]marnuwant and walḫi-.

[75]ḫarp-, "to attach, connect, separate". In this case, the inherent meaning is "to set apart for service."

[76]ma-a-wa is not "so be it" as Götze has, ANET p. 126.

[77]Located in North Syria; mentioned in a campaign of Muršiliš I. KUB XXXI 64 obv. I 19.

[78]Apparently, if the interpretation SAḪLU for Ŭ?- [SA]L?-LI is correct, the Stormgod destroyed the house and then sowed cress in its location as a symbol that this place no longer is fertile. This procedure was practiced by Hittite kings in

their destruction of conquered cities. KBo X 2, obv. I, l. 37: nu KUR ^{uru}UL-ma-an ḫar-nin-ku-un nu-uš-ši-kán pé-di-iš-ši [ZAG.AḪ.L]I^{sar} šu-un-ni-ya-nu-un. "He destroyed the land of Ulma and sewed cress in its place." The Akkadian version of this text is (KBo X 1, obv. I l. 17): ^{uru}Ul-lu-um-ma ú-ḫal-liq-šu-ma i-na qa-aq-qa-ri-šu ú-ul i-tá-a-ar-ra-aš-šu. "He destroyed the city of Ulma, and in its field they did not continue to plow (with a seed plow)". H. Hoffner parses ītarraš(š)ū as a Gtn pret. of arāšum/erēšum. Cf. CAD E, pp.285-9.

[79]Laroche, RHA 77, p. 69.

[80]Götze translates: "This is the way in which ... told it later." This is based only on the extant words kuita [ ]memista and on his interpretation of the beginning of the first version of the myth. cf. note 79.

[81] ^{d}Zalinu is the wife of ^{d}Zašḫapuna. These gods belong to the entourage of the Stormgod of Nerik. In the first version of the myth Mount Zaliyanu occurs as the provider of rain. Since this section stands parallel to it, ^{d}Zalinu is probably the same as Mount Zaliyanu. Moreover, KUB XII 66 col. IV l. 46, has the variant ^{d}Za-li-ya-nu-un for ^{d}Za-li-nu-un in KBo III 7, col. IV l. 46. In the same texts there is a variation between ^{d}Zalinu and ^{d}Zalinuis. It is not clear which of these gods is supreme. ^{d}Zalinu wins the primacy in the seating (l.11.), and yet, ^{d}Zašḫapuna is the greatest among all the gods of Kaštama (l. 15-17). cf. Laroche, Recherches sur les Noms des

Dieux Hittites, pp. 38-39.

[82]Not known elsewhere. E. Laroche, Les Noms des Hittites (Paris: Libraire C. Klincksieck, 1966), p. 169.

[83]The meaning of "lot" for pul- is not certain. Friedrich, HW, 1st fascicle, p. 16. Götze suggest that the verb pu-u-ul (-) tiyanzi may contain an etymology of the name of the Purulli Festival.

[84]Cuneiform texts: KUB XII 60; KUB XXXIII 81. Edition transliteration: Laroche, RHA 77, pp. 73-78; Johannes Friedrich, Hethitisches Keilschrift-Lesebuch (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1960), Teil I, pp. 56-57. Translations: Götze, ANET, p. 120; E. Laroche, "La lune chez les Hittites et les Hourrites", La Lune, Mythes et Rites (Paris, 1962), pp. 119-120.

[85]Laroche puts the central emphasis of the myth on the Moon's fall from heaven rather than on the catastrophic consequences. He also concludes that the celestial accident causes the Stormgod to forget his function in the universe. This interpretation depends on the meaning of appan tarna-, C II 13, which has the possible meanings, "to send after", or "to omit, hold back." See above, Ch. III, p. 221, note 45. Thus it is possible that the Stormgod raged with thunder and lightning, but forgot to send the beneficial rains.

[86]Laroche, RHA 77, p. 73.

[87] ^{d}XXX is a designation for the Moongod according to its

astrological number 30. Laroche, Recherches sur les Noms des Dieux Hittites, p. 108.

[88]KI.LAM. Literal meaning, "market", "purchase price"; "auch (bzw. in Bog.nur?) merkwurdige Schreibung fur ḫilammar, "Torbau"?" Friedrich, HW p. 281. Götze leaves the word untranslated. ANET p. 120. Laroche translates "le portail". La Lune ..., p. 119.

[89]uddanišk-. Laroche translates: "il la conjure encore et encore", and interprets it as an effort to put the Moon back in place.

[90]It is not clear who the speakers in this discourse are.

[91]na-aš-ta pa-a-im-i HUR.SAG-X [ ] ^{na4}pé-ru-na-az tar-na-ah-hi. This may well be the action taken to restore order. Its significance in the context is difficult. For -ašta ... tarna-, cf. šan-ašta IŠTU É EN.NU.UN tarner, "and they let him out of prison." KBo III 34 II 19. Perhaps here, "to expel from, drive out of."

[92]This passage is too broken to make a meaningful translation possible.

[93]ḫa-lu-ga-na-iz-zi-ma. Possibly a denominative verb from the noun ḫaluga-, "message".

[94]The ritually impure are barred from the temple.

[95] ^{d}7.7.BI. Laroche equates the deity with the Hittite Šeppitta-., Recherches ... , pp. 88, 108. This equation is

based on the series, LÚ.SANGA ^{d}7.7.BI ..... LÚ.SANGA ^{d}7.7.BI .... LÚ.SANGA ^{d}Šeppittaš .... LÚ.SANGA ^{d}Šepittaš ... in IBOT I 10 rev. III 5, 9, 13, 17. Götze (JCS 1, 1947, p. 89) and Hoffner consider this equation spurious. Phonetically, comparing siptamiya, one would expect Šepta, not Šeppitta. Cf. the geographical names ^{uru}Šappittaš and ^{uru}Šippittaš in KUB XXXVIII 10 obv. I 21, rev. IV 29, and the cereal name šeppit-.

[96]Unveröffentlichte Texts aus Bogazköy (BO) 2527, col. III, 11. 3-13. H. Otten, Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950), pp. 22-23. H. G. Güterbock, The Song of Ullikummi (New Haven: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1952; reprint from Journal of Cuneiform Studies, Vol. 5, 6), pp. 32-35.

[97]Cuneiform text: KUB XXXIII 120. Transliteration and translation: E. Forrer, "Eine Geschichte des Götterkönigtums aus dem Ḫatti-Reiche", Annuaire de l'institut de phil. et d'hist. orientales 4, (1936), pp. 687-713; H. G. Güterbock, Kumarbi (Zürich: Europaverlag, 1946), pp. 6-10, and supplement, "Transkription", pp. 1-6; Güterbock, "The Hittite version of the Ḫurrian Kumarbi Myths: Oriental forerunners of Hesiod", American Journal of Archeology, 52 (1948), pp. 124-125; A. Götze, ANET, pp. 150-151; Güterbock, "Hittite Mythology", Mythologies of the Ancient World (1961), pp. 156-159. Additional fragments: Heinrich Otten, Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi: Neue Fragmente (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950),

pp. 1-2.

[98]KUB XXXIII 120 IV, subscript.

[99]This group is made up of Ḫurrian gods, which preceded the present ruling pantheon. At the time of the composition of these texts they reside in the Nether World. H. Otten, "Eine Beschwörung der Unterirdischen aus Boğazköy," ZA NF 20 (1961), pp. 145-147.

[100]Sumero-Babylonian gods adopted into the Hittite pantheon by way of the Ḫurrians.

[101]Literally, paršinuš, "thighs" or "hips"; or possibly genuš, "knees". These serve as a circumlocution for the sex organ, as in Akkadian: birku means both "knee" and "penis". Cf. W. Deonna, "Le Genou, Siège de Force et de Vie et sa Protection Magique". Revue Archéologique (1939), p. 229; CAD B 257a.

[102]Possibly a play on the word nakki-, which can mean both "heavy" and "noble".

[103]The river Tigris.

[104]The Stormgod's brother, cf. Bo 8229, l. 20; transl. in H. G. Güterbock, The Song of Ullikummi (Reprint from JCS vol. 5, 6, 1951, 2), p. 29.

[105]KAxU-[al-li(?)] = išalli-, "saliva", an instrumental noun made up of aiš-, "mouth" and the ending -alli-. Johannes Friedrich, Hethitisches Elementarbuch (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Verlag, 1960), Teil I, pp. 39-40.

[106]Possibly a Sumerian name for Marduk. Güterbock, Kumarbi, p. 36, note 4.

[107]tarna- has been identified as "skull" (Akkad. muhhu) acc. to lexical text KUB III 103 rev. 9. Laroche, RHA 79, p. 162.

[108]In the myth of the Fisherman and the Foundling the cow is ready to devour its unwanted child, because, rather than being a normal calf, it was an awful creature with only two legs. KUB XXIV 7 ll. 22-26.

[109]Güterbock, Kumarbi, pp. 39-40, note 51.

[110]A kind of flour.

[111]The Hittite phrase is: an-da še-e-ku-e-er tar-na-aš-sa-an ^{d}Ku-mar-bi-in. Translation acc. to Götze, ANET, p. 121.

[112]Güterbock, Kumarbi, p. 40, note 75.

[113]Restoration of the names ^{id}Aranzaḫ and Šuwaliya acc. to Rudolf Werner. He quotes an unpublished manuscript by Güterbock to support the equation of Šuwaliya and Tašmišu. Rudolf Werner, Bibliotheca Orientalis 18 (1961), p. 292. This would bring Anu's listing of the three gods in Col. I in agreement with the three gods born in Col. II. Laroche identifies Šuwaliya as the Ḫurrian equivelant of Ninurta. His identification of Tašmišu as a goddess is out of keeping with the Song of Ullikummi, where he is called the Stormgod's brother (cf. above, note 117). Laroche, Recherches ..., pp. 60, 61. For the possibility that the Stormgod had two

viziers, cf. Güterbock, Kumarbi, p. 97, note 5.

[114] ^{d}NAM.HÉ. The only reference to this god's name in Hittite literature is the temple name ^{E}NAM.HÉ. Laroche, Recherches ..., p. 123. The ideogram means "abundance, plenty".

[115]Güterbock, Mythologies of the Ancient World, pp. 158-159.

[116]KI-aš is nominative, representing the Hittite daganzipaš.

[117]The broken reference to "sweet n[ame" indicates that a namegiving ceremony is taking place after the births. For this ceremony cf. "Appu", KUB XXIV 8 III 4-10.

[118]KAB.ZU.ZU. Friedrich lists the meanings "pupil" and "assistant".

[119]In another fragment ^{d}Ea does the counting. KUB XXXIII 119 l. 12. cf. Otten, MGK, p. 7.

[120]Güterbock, AJA 52 (1948), p. 125.

[121]Werner, Bibliotheca Orientalis 18 (1961), p. 292.

[122]KUB XXXIII 111, 112, 114 and XXXVI 2. The exact identity of this god is hidden in the Sumerogram KAL. Elsewhere it represents the protector god LAMA and the goddess Inara. Here an unruly male deity seems to be indicated. Güterbock, Mythologies of the Ancient World, p. 161.

[123]Güterbock, p. 161.

[124]Cuneiform texts: For the various copies of the three

extant tablets see Laroche, Cat. no. 239. Transliterations and translations: Güterbock, Kumarbi (1946), reviewed by Sturtevant, JCS I (1947), pp. 353-357, Laroche, RHA VIII 47 (1947-48) pp. 20-24, Götze, JAOS 69 (1949), pp. 178-183; Otten, MGK (1950); Güterbock, "Song of Ullikummi", JCS 5 (1951), 6 (1952); Götze, ANET (1955), pp. 121-125. Summary and discussion: Gurney, The Hittites (1961), pp. 192-194; Güterbock, Mythologies of the Ancient World (1961), pp. 164-172.

[125]Güterbock, "The Song of Ullikummi", p. 1.

[126]Mythologies of the Ancient World, p. 172.

[127]Cf. note 137. His edition in JCS 5, 6 presents the three existing tablets. Because of the elaborate development of the plot, Güterbock concludes that the final battle between Ullikummi and Tešub must have been recorded on a fourth tablet, although it has already been announced on tablet III. JCS 5, p. 6.

[128]Güterbock, JCS 5, p. 6.

[129]Urkiš, the hometown of Kumarbi, was in North Mesopotamia in Hurrian territory. Güterbock, Mythol. of the Anc. World, p. 165.

[130]Kumarbi, pp. 94-100. Güterbock lists the characters in the myth according to parties: the party of Kumarbi, the party of the Stormgod, and the neutral gods.

[131]"Le couple ^{d}MAḪ-^{d}GUL-aššeš a pour premier terme les

divinités qui président à la naissance." Laroche, Recherches... p. 99, 101.

[132]W. Deonna, p. 230.

[133]KUB XXIV 8 III l. 3-7.

[134]pa-id-d[u-wa-aš-ši-ša-a]n ^{d}Ul-li-kum-mi ŠUM-an e-es-du. Güterbock translates: "He shall go! Ullikummi be his name!" This is literal, but clumsy. The verb pai- appears to be used to express the future tense in the same way that we use "going to" in English.

[135]Upelluri, like Atlas, is a giant who supports heaven and earth. Apparently, he was located in the sea, since Ullikummi, located on his shoulder, grows out of the sea.

[136]Note the reference to Kumarbi's planning at the beginning of the myth. This allusion keeps the plot clearly in mind. This speech is also an allusion to the myth, "The Kingship in Heaven", in which Kumarbi gave birth to the Stormgod.

[137]The historic present is used in a context of past tenses for dramatic effect. "The Sungod looked (šakuwait, past tense) down from heaven and he sees (šakuiškizzi, present iterative tense) Ullikummi, and Ullikummi sees (šakuiškizzi) the Sungod of Heaven." Friedrich, Hethitisches Elementarbuch I, p. 138, par. 261 b 1.

[138]The message itself is lost in a lacuna. The Stormgod's reaction of anger to it is recorded, however.

[139]On the shore of north Syria; the Semitic Zaphon and classical Casius.

[140]The actual battle between the Stormgod and Ullikummi is lost in a gap of about thirty lines. JCS 6, p. 36.

[141]A warriorgod, equivelant to the Babylonian god ZABABA.

[142]The Babylonian apsu, the subterranean ocean abode of Ea, has been adapted by the Hittites as the town of Apšuwa. JCS 5, p. 5.

[143]The actual request is in a broken portion.

[144] URUDU ardala, strangely enough a neuter plural noun. The corresponding verb is arha ardu [ ]. Güterbock translates "saw" and "to saw", but the exact meaning of the words is not known. JCS 6, p. 59.

[145]Cuneiform texts: KUB XXIV 8, ABoT 48. Transliteration and translation: Johannes Friedrich, "Churritische Märchen und Sagen in hethitischer Sprache," Zeitschrift für Assyriologie 49 (1950) pp. 215-225; 242-246; H. A. Hoffner, "Myths in the Hittite Language" (presented at Brandeis University Colloquium, 196?), pp. 1-3. Summary: H. G. Güterbock, Kumarbi, pp. 119-122.

[146]Friedrich, ZA 49, p. 242.

[147]lilakki-, reduplication of lak-, "to bend"?; laknu-, "to bring into disorder".

[148]H. Hoffner understands an implied man after šakšakiluš

to balance off GIŠ-ru man in the preceding clause. Verbal communication.

[149]This means that whatever offense caused his childlessness, was the secret of the gods. The translation is tenuous. Key words (waštul, kariyan) are restored tentatively.

[150]This episode is rather obscure. Appu's going to bed with his shoes on, joined by his wife fully dressed may be a symbolic act to enhance conception. Appu has to cleanse himself after a ritually impure act. Friedrich, p. 244.

[151]The phrase, nu-za DAM-KA aššu šaštan šeški, is problematic. šaštan is common gender and aššu is neuter, so that an attributive relationship is not possible. If aššu is taken adverbially, the literal translation is: "and sleep in the right way with your wife". This makes rather clumsy English, however. cf. H. Hoffner, "Myths in the Hittite Language", p. 1, note 8.

[152]The Sungod was lord and shepherd of mankind, who daily carried out justice over man and beast alike. cf. KUB VI 45 III 13-17, quoted in Götze, Kleinasien, p. 137. The praise showered on him by the Stormgod must have reference to the faithful exercise of his duties.

[153]Note the standardized epithet. There is no correspondence whatsoever between the attributive and the actual quality of the name.

[154]It is difficult to ascertain whether this word,

represented by the Sumerogram LÚ.ḪUL is a name, or simply an attributive adjective. In the name giving, the word is represented by LÚ.ḪUL-lu, for the Hittite word idalu-, but elsewhere (as in col. IV, l. 5, 6), it is written LÚ.ḪUL-as (nom.) and LÚ-ḪUL-i (dat.), for the Hittite word ḫuwapp-. If it is meant to be a proper name, a synonym would not be substituted for it. The word is used in the attributive position everywhere except here. In this case (col. III, l. 7) it is: nu-uš-ši-šan šanizzi laman LÚ.ḪUL-lu daiš, "he gave to him the sweet name Idalu," but in line 10 and elsewhere, the phrase is LÚ.ḪUL-lu ŠUM-an, "a bad name". In the parallel namegiving of the good brother, the phrase is nu-uš-ši-kán NÍG.SI.SÁ-an ŠUM-an dais, "he gave to him a good name." NÍG.SI.SÁ can be interpreted as an attributive adjective in every case. When not preceding a noun, it is written LÚ.NÍG.SI.SÁ, "the good man" (e.g., IV 21). Therefore, these words are best treated as adjectives, "the good one" and "the bad one".

[155]ABOT 48.

[156]Friedrich, p. 246.

[157]ABOT 48, 8-11. H. Hoffner restores: [^{d}IŠTAR-iš-wa ^{uru}Ni-nu]-wa-aš SAL.LUGAL-aš ḫa-an-na-a[-ú nu A-NA ^{uru}Ni-nu-wa pé-en]-nir GIM-an-ma-at[-kán I-NA ^{URU}Ni-nu-wa e-re-er na-at A-NA ^{d}IŠTAR DI-eš-ni] ti-i-e-er [nu ŠEŠ-an ^{lú}NÍG.SI.SÁ-an šar-la-a-it].

[158]Cuneiform text: KUB XXIV 7 II. Transliteration

and translation: Friedrich, ZA 49, pp. 225-233, 247-253; Hoffner, MHL, pp. 4-6.

[159]Friedrich, p. 224, 225.

[160]Güterbock, "The Song of Ullikummi", JCS 5, p. 10.

[161]Götze gives a summary of the hymn in "Die Annalen des Mursilis", Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegiptischen Gesellschaft, Vol. 38 (1933), p. 262, 3.

[162]Literally: "His mind lept upon the cow."

[163]Cf. the Appu story. The Sungod meets Appu in the same form.

[164]The text is fragmentary here. The impregnation itself is lost in a gap, but deduced from the rest of the story.

[165]Again, the text is badly damaged. The child is later found in the mountains by the fisherman.

[166]The use of the present tense indicates a permanent condition. After her bad experience she makes it a habit to do exactly as her husband tells her.

[167]Cuneiform texts: KUB XXXIII 121, KUB XVII 1: II - A III 4 ff.; transliteration and translations: J. Friedrich, ZA 49, pp. 234-239, 253-255; H. Hoffner, MHL, pp. 3-4; summary and paraphrase: T. H. Gaster, The Oldest Stories in the World (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958), pp. 145-158, A. L. Oppenheim, The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East (Philadelphia: Transactions of the

American Philosophical Society, 1956), N. S. 46, Part 3, p. 208.

[168]An obscure passage follows: "and Kešši the ^{NA4}NUNUZ on a tree [ ] in the mountains of the sons of the gods and they (?) try (?) to devour Kešši. But the divine father of Kessi down from the mountain [ ],(saying): 'Why do you devour him in the mountains, Kešši [ ]?"

[169]H. Hoffner restores: nu-kán $^{ḫur.šag}$Na-ta-ra-a[z kat-ta (?) Zi-ip-]pé-e-ra URU (!)-ri ša?-ra-a pe-e-da-aš. Kešši, III 4-5. Verbal communication.

[170] ^{NA4}kunkunnuzzi-, the same rock type of which Ullikummi was made.

[171]Perhaps the implication is that Kešši is adorned with a woman's bracelet, rather than with a normal neck-band. The effect is a degraded image of Kešši, the once mighty hunter, now associated with woman's attire.

[172]Laroche identifies the Damnaššaraš as a group of obscure deities found in the context of ritual, dream (only the Kešši story), prayer and oracle. Laroche, Recherches..., p. 67.

[173]Cuneiform text: KUB XVII 9. Translation: H. Hoffner, MHL, p. 10.

[174]Cuneiform text KUB XXXVI 67. Transliteration and translations: H. G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition bei Babyloniern und Hethitern," ZA 44 (1938), pp. 84-90.

H. Hoffner, MHL, p. 10.

[175]Güterbock, ZA 44, p. 89.

[176]Güterbock pictures this section as a battle. If Impakru is the king of Aggade, it would be a defense of the city, but if he is an invader, it would be the conquest of the city. This is on the basis of the statement, "Impakru was victorious." On the other hand, there is mention of a field, and the repeated statement: "[ ] Gurparan [zaḫu] quickly [ ]", "Gurparanzaḫu quickly killed the ḫartaggaš." Although the context is very fragmentary, in view of the later archery contest, I think this can best be pictured as a peaceful hunting expedition, with Impakru as host, rather than a war campaign, with Impakru as king.

[177]AN.ZA.GÀR is literally "tower".

[178]LÚ.GURUŠ is a virile young man. This conveys the idea of eligible young men, or suitors.

[179]The verb šalik-, "to hit against, strike", is used in this context, as a euphemism for the male's role in intercourse.

[180]Note that the Ḫurrian word for Tigris, Aranzaḫ, is contained in the name Gurparanzaḫu. The meaning of the added gurp- or gurpa- is not known, but the similarity in names does set up an obvious relationship between the two. Perhaps this relationship is referred to by Gurparanzaḫu's words, "my lord".

[181]Cuneiform texts: Laroche, Cat. no. 235-236. Transliteration and translation: J. Friedrich, "Der Churritische Mythus vom Schlangendämon Hedammu in hethitischer Sprache," Archiv Orientální XVII 1 (Prague: 1949), pp. 230-254; H. Hoffner, MHL, pp. 6-7. Summary: H. G. Güterbock, Kumarbi, pp. 116-118.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER II

[1]Cyrus Gordon, Before the Bible (London: Collins Press, 1962), p. 134.

[2]Theodor H. Gaster, The Oldest Stories in the World (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), p. 9.

[3]T. H. Gaster, Thespis, p. 23 ff.

[4]Gaster, The Oldest Stories in the World, p. 9.

[5]As an example of this comparative method Gaster interprets the words "blue wool" at the end of the Kešši story in the light of the "familiar and virtually universal belief that blue protects against demons", without checking into the presence of this belief in Hittite culture. Gaster, p. 17. Cf. also his "Index of motifs", Thespis, pp. 495-497.

[6]Albrecht Goetze, Review of Thespis (1950), Journal of Cuneiform Studies, 6 (1952), pp. 99-103. Gaster revised his translations of the myths on the basis of this and other reviews, but his thesis and general approach remained unchanged.

[7]"Song of Ullikummi", Tablet I, Text A, Col. III l. 10-20.

[8]Gaster, The Oldest Stories in the World, p. 117.

[9]Güterbock, JCS 5, p. 10.

[10]Güterbock, pp. 7-10.

[11]H. A. Hoffner discusses an instance of parallelismus membrorum in the Hittite "Elkunirsa Myth" (thought to be a translation of a Canaanite original) with the assumption that the Hittites "were not familiar with this stylistic device." This would support the contention that examples of this device do not form an integral part of the style of Hittite literature. H. A. Hoffner, "The Elkunirsa Myth Reconsidered", RHA 76 (1965), p. 13.

[12]KBo III 7, obv. A, 5-8. The first four lines tell of the recitation of the myth by Kella the priest, and do not form a part of the myth itself.

[13]KUB XVII 6, obv. B I 4-12.

[14]Güterbock, JCS 5, p. 10.

[15]The text has KI.MIN to indicate the repeated verb.

[16]KUB XVII 10 I, 5-8.

[17]The text has ^{d}30-aš-kan.

[18]KUB XXVIII 5 II, 10-14.

[19]KUB XXXIII 120, 8-11.

[20]KUB XXXIII 120, 16-17.

[21]Appu, Col. I, ll. 7-45.

[22]Appu, Col. IV, ll. 9-20.

[23]Repetition as a stylistic device will be dealt with later in this paper.

[24]Alexander Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis (Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1963), pp. 15-16.

[25]Enuma Elish, Tablet I, ll. 1-2.

[26]Cyrus H. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1965), pp. 131-133.

[27]Krt, 131-133.

[28]Text 52, 8-9.

[29]The use of analogical magic in "The disappearance of Telipinu" will be discussed below.

[30]KUB XXX 120, I, 21-22.

[31]KUB XXX 120, II, 76.

[32]Song of Ullikummi, 1 A I, 5-6.

[33]SoU, 1 A I, 9-10.

[34]SoU, 3A IV, 25-26.

[35]SoU, 1A III, 17-8.

[36]SoU, 1A III, 21-25.

[37]SoU, 1C III, 23-24

[38]SoU, 1A IV, 21.

[39]SoU, 1A IV, 7-10.

[40]SoU, 1A IV, 27-28.

[41]SoU, 3A IV, 15.

[42]SoU, 3A III, 47.

[43]SoU, 1 A IV, 28-32; 3 A I, 18-19; 3 A III, 14-15; 3 A III, 36-38.

[44]SoU, 1 A IV, 45-48.

[45]SoU, 2 B I, 29-30.

[46]SoU, 3 A I, 15-16.

[47]So Götze, ANET, p. 123.

[48]SoU, 3 A IV, 19-20.

[49]SoU, 3 A IV, 21; 3 A I, 4-5.

[50]SoU, 1 A I, 13-14, III 40-41; 3 A I 31-32, II 3-4.

[51]SoU, 1 C II 34, A III 6.

[52]Appu, I, 3-6.

Appu, IV, II, 9-20. For translation cf. Ch. I.

[53]Cow and Fisherman, III, 24-27.

[54]Cow and Fisherman, III, 65-66.

[55]Gurp. & Bow, obv. II, 21-2.

[56]Gurp. & Tigris, obv. I, 14-15, 34-35.

[57]Ḫedammu, KUB VIII 67, 9.

[58]Ḫedammu, KUB VIII 67, 15-17.

[59]H. Hoffner, MHL, p. 6, note 5.

[60]Ḫedammu, KUB VIII 67, 19-20. Restoration according to H. Hoffner, cf. note 65.

[61]MHL, p. 6, note 6.

[62]Ḫedammu, KUB XXXIII 88 + IBOT II 135, 11.

[63]Ḫedammu, KUB XXXIII 86, II, 14.

[64]Ḫedammu, XXXIII 86, III 4-5.

[65]H. A. Hoffner, "Elements of style in Hittite mythology." A paper presented at the meetings of the American Oriental Society in New Haven, Conn., on March 22, 1967. Most of the above examples were also listed by him in this paper.

[66]Cf. No. 6 of the comparisons listed.

[67]Nos. 1, 4, 32.

[68]Nos. 11, 12, 13.

[69]Nos. 7 (third clause), 1.

[70]No. 18.

[71]No. 26.

[72]No. 4.

[73]No. 32.

[74]No. 20.

[75]JCS 5, p. 13.

[76]T. B. L. Webster, From Mycenae to Homer (New York: The Norton Library, 1964), p. 223.

[77]Webster, p. 224.

[78]No. 1.

[79]No. 16.

[80]Webster cites an example from the Epic of Gilgamesh: "like a lioness deprived of her whelps".

[81]No. 23.

[82]Webster, pp. 224, 225.

[83]Iliad, XVIII, 316-323.

[84]Webster, p. 225.

[85]No. 16.

[86]No. 15.

[87]Telipinu, 1st version, A II ll. 16-21.

[88]Telipinu, 1st version, A I l. 23.

[89]C. Gordon, The Ancient Near East, p. 36.

[90]Illuyanka, 2nd version D IV ll. 3, 4.

[91]Telipinu and the Ocean, A I, l. 1. This expression also occurs in a non-mythological text, KBo IV 10 rev. 4 (Treaty with Ulmi-Tešub of Dattaššaš), where it must refer to a specific body of water.

[92]Kingship in Heaven, I l 14, 15.

[93]Ullikummi, Tablet 1, Col. III-IV l. 30, 47, C III 21.

[94]Kingship, II l. 3, 76, 84.

[95]Ullikummi, Tabl. 3, I (A), l. 16.

[96]Ullikummi, Tabl. 3, III (A), ll. 48-52.

[97]Appu, II l. 8.

[98]Appu, III, IV.

[99]Cow and Fisherman, IV 33.

[100]IV 38.

[101]Kingship, I, 33.

[102]Kingship, I, 41.

[103]Ullikummi, Tabl. 1, II A 19; III 42.

[104]Ullik., Tabl. 3, I (A) 26.

[105]Ullik., Tabl. 1, I B 14.

[106]Baal is "Rider of Clouds". cf. C. H. Gordon, Ugarit

and Minoan Crete (New York: Norton & Co., 1966), p. 26.

[107]e.g., "the long-haired (κάρη κομόωντες) Achaeans", Odyssey, I, 90.

[108]Ullik., Tabl. I, Col. III, 14.

[109]III, 19-25.

[110]Appu, Col. III, 7.

[111]Ullik., Tabl. 1 A IV 36; Tabl. 3 III (A) 39.

[112]Telipinu, 1st version, A I 24.

[113]Ullik., Tabl. 1, I A 14; III 40; Tabl. 3, II 3.

[114]Telipinu, 1st version, A I 26.

[115]Ullik., Tabl. 1 III 20; Tabl. 3, IV 27.

[116]Kešši, B II 15.

[117]Ullik., Tabl. 3, III (A) 37.

[118]Gurp. & Tigris, I 21, 22.

[119]Telipinu, 1st version, A I 19.

[120]Götze, Kleinasien, pp. 135-136.

[121]Ullik., Tabl. 1 A IV 45.

[122]Appu, I 14-15.

[123]Kingship I, 31.

[124]Ullik., Tabl. 3, I (A) 33.

[125]Ullik., Tabl. 3, F I (?) 7, 8; IV 17, 18. In the second passage more correctly ḫaštališ ḫaššuš.

[126]Telipinu, 1st version, A I 28, 29.

[127]Yuzgat Tabl., I 29, 30.

[128]Telipinu and the Ocean, A I 7, 8.

[129]Kingship, I 8.

[130]In Babylonian literature he is known as "the most puissant of heroes, whose strength [is outstanding], past resisting his onslaught." Enuma Elish, Tabl. II 73. ANET, p. 63.

[131]Kingship, I 38, 39.

[132]Kingship, II 5.

[133]Ullik., Tabl. 1, I A 3.

[134]Ullik., Tabl. 1, II A 6; II A 13; III 43.

[135]Iliad I 544; IV 68; XVI 458.

[136]Gordon, Before the Bible, p. 233.

[137]Krt: 37.

[138]e.g. Deut. 32:6.

[139]In Kingship the order of succession is Alalu-Anu-Kumarbi- Stormgod. Ea is certainly an older god, and he calls on the "former" gods for the ancient cutting tool in the Song of Ullik.

[140]Ullik., Tabl. 1 I B 14.

[141]Ullik., Tabl. 2 I 25; 26.

[142]Enuma Elish, Tabl. 1-3.

[143]Krt A II-IV; cf. Gordon, Before the Bible, pp. 135, 136.

[144]Odyssey, V l. 110-111 and l. 133-134.

[145]Telipinu, 1st version, A I, 5-9. Cf. section of line length.

[146]Telipinu, 1st version, A IV 21-26.

[147]The Moon who fell, C II 10-14.

[148]The Moon who fell, A II 16-21.

[149]Ullik. Tabl. 1, III 39-42.

[150]Ullik. Tabl. 1 C III 5-17.

[151]Ullik. Tabl. 2, III 3-14.

[152]Tabl. 2, III 15-25.

[153]Cow and Fisherman, IV 45-48.

[154]IV 53-58.

[155]Ullik. Tabl. 1, C III 25-29. H. Hoffner takes waššiyattaru as a denominative from the noun wašši, "salve", rather than from waššiya-, "to clothe". Verbal communication.

[156]Tabl. 1, A IV 22-26.

[157]Ullik. Tabl. 3, II 17-32.

[158]Kingship, Col. I 9-22.

[159]Telipinu, 1st version, III 1-2, etc.

[160]Kingship, Col. I, 1-7.

[161]Ullik., Tabl. 1, I 5.

[162]Ullik., Tabl. 1, I 9-10.

[163]Ullik., Tabl. 1, III 19-25.

[164]E.g., Iliad XI, 428-455.

[165]Ullik., Tabl. 3, IV 25-28.

[166]Appu, IV 9-20.

[167]There are traces of a birth ceremony in Kingship in Heaven, IV 8-18. Name giving and gifts are involved, but

the text is so broken and incomplete that analysis is fruitless and impossible.

[168]Ullik., Tabl. 1, III 10-18.

[169]Appu, III 3-10.

[170]Appu, III 12-16.

[171]Cow and Fisherman, III 18-22; IV 37-41.

[172]For a discussion of the symbolic role of the knee, cf. W. Déonna, "Le Genou, Siège de Force et de Vie et sa Protection Magique" Rev. Arch. (1939) I p. 230.

[173]Odyssey, XIX 392-412.

[174]Iliad, IX 455-6.

[175]Iliad, IX, 485-9.

[176]For evidence of parallelismus membrorum in the Elkunirsa Myth, cf. H. A. Hoffner, "The Elkunirsa Myth Reconsidered", RHA 76 (1965), pp. 5-14.

[177]Ullik., Tabl. 1, C III 25-26; A IV 23-24.

[178]Ullik., Tabl. 2, I B_2 5-7. The bracketed restorations are tentative. Cf. JCS 6, Commentary, p. 57.

[179]Ullik., Tabl. 3, IV 16-18.

[180]Gurp. and Bow, II 14; 23.

[181]Ullik., Tabl. 1, A IV 51-54.

[182]Ullik., Tabl. 2, II 8-17.

[183]Appu, II 16-18. Cf. section on "Line length" for translation and discussion.

[184]Appu, III 1-3. Cf. also Cow and Fisherman, III

18-19.

[185]Appu, III 12.

[186]Kingship, I 45.

[187]C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Handbook (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1947), p. 37. Friedrich, JCS 1 (1947), p. 293 ff.

[188]Cf. Text 51: VI: 24-33; Aqhat II, 2, 32-40.

[189]Gordon, The Ancient Near East, p. 33-34.

[190]Ullik., Tabl. 1, III 28-30.

[191]Kesši, B II 4-11.

[196]Discussed above.

[197]Illuyanka, Recto, B I 26-27.

[198]Illuyanka, Verso, A III 27-30.

[199]Ullik. Tabl. 2, B I 32-34.

[200]Friedrich, HW p. 212.

[201]Disapp. of the Stormgod, A I 30.

[202]H. Otten, Überl. des Tel. Myth., p. 15, note d. Friedrich, Heth. Elem. I, p. 138.

[203]Yuzgat Tabl., I 22-3.

[204]Güterbock transcribes the Akkadogram IQBI (preterit) with the Hittite memiškizzi (present) in one instance. Since the verbs of speech generally occur in the preterit, it is probably better to read memišta. JCS 5, p. 16, 17.

[205]Ullik., Tabl. 2, B I 18-35.

[206]Friedrich, Heth. Elem. I, pp. 140-141.

[207]Illuyanka, Recto, C I 26.

[208]Ullik., Tabl. 2, B I 31-34.

[209]Ullik., Tabl. 2, B I 35-42; Tabl. 2, II 8-16.

[210]Ullik., Tabl. 2, B I 19-20.

[211]Yuzgat Tabl. I 34-41.

[212]In l. 42 Hahhima answers the Stormgod. His speech is introduced with the verb taraškizzi.

[213]Cow and Fisherman, IV 47.

[214]Kingship in Heaven III 21. The context is very broken but it appears to be in a speech.

[215]Ullik. Tabl. 1, C II; Tabl. 1, III 42.

[216]Cf. note 213.

[217]Friedrich, Heth. Elem. I, p. 143.

[218]Appu, IV 7. There is room for a restoration of 5-7 syllables in the lacuna following this word.

[219]Telipinu, 1st version, A I 30.

[220]Ullik., Tabl. 1, A IV 55.

[221]Ullik., Tabl. 3, A III 40.

[222]Ullik., Tabl. 3, A III 48.

[223]Ullik., Tabl. 1, A IV 13, 35.

[224]Appu, I 35; II 1; II 4, 5.

[225]Friedrich, Heth. Elem. I, pp. 148-9.

[226]Ullik., Tabl. 1 III, 15-25.

[227]Kingship in Heaven, I 28-36.

[228]Disapp. of the Stormgod, A I 39-42.

[229]Illuyanka, Verso, A III 29. Friedrich HE I, p. 149.

[230]Ullik., Tabl. 1, C II 32-37.

[231]Cow and Fisherman, IV 43-47.

[232]Ullik., Tabl. 1, II A 16-19 & II C 7-16; Tabl. 1, III 38-48.

[233]Güterbock, "Hittite Mythology", Myth. of the Anc. World, p. 143.

[234]Cf. Götze's conjectural translation in ANET, pp. 125-6.

[235]Illuyanka, Recto A I 1.

[236]Illuyanka, Verso A III 34. A passage about the ascending of the gods follows after a lacuna.

[237]Illuyanka, Recto A I 5-8.

[238]Recto A I 3.

[239]Recto A II 21-29.

[240]Verso, D IV 5.

[241]The Moon who fell from Heaven A, B, C I 1.

[242]B I 8.

[243]C IV 1-3.

[244]Cf. the translation of this myth in Chapter I.

[245]Telipinu, 1st Version A IV 20-26.

[246]Telipinu, 1st Version, A I 5-9.

[247]Telipinu, 1st version, A IV 26-35.

[248]Telipinu, fragments (KUB xxxiii 12), IV 25-26. Cf. RHA 77 p. 108.

[249]Laroche, RHA 77, p. 98.

[250]Güterbock, Kumarbi, p. 7.

[251]Güterbock, JCS 5, p. 6; JCS 6, p. 50.

[252]Appu, IV 29-33.

[253]Cow and Fisherman, II 51-56; III 18-29. Güterbock, Kumarbi, pp. 121-122.

[254]Friedrich, ZA 49, p. 247.

[255]Kingship, I 2-7.

[256]Güterbock, JCS 5, p. 4.

[257]Ullikummi, Tabl. 1, A I 2-8.

[258]Appu, I 2-6.

[259]Restoration and translation according to H. Hoffner in private communication. tarnaš = "skull(s) acc. to E. Laroche, RHA 79 (1966), p. 162.

[260]Telipinu and the Ocean, A I 1.

[261]Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook, p. 250.

[262]A. Götze, Review of H. Güterbock, Kumarbi, JAOS 69 (1949), p. 179.

[263]Text 77, l. 1,2. Restoration according to A. Herdner, Corpus des tablettes in cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1939), p. 102.

[264]A. Götze, Review of H. Güterbock, Kumarbi, JAOS 69 (1949), p. 179.

[265]Text 52, l. 1,2.

[266]C. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook, p. 480.

[267]C. Gordon reads Šarruma instead of Šapš. Ugarit and Minoan Crete, p. 94. Acc. to Astour, the reading for Šarruma is now attested as trm, rather than šrm. M. Astour, Review of C. Gordon, Ugarit and Minoan Crete, JNES 26 (1967), p. 132. For the reading šp[š rather than šr[m, Herdner observes that the trace on the tablet favors 'p' over 'r'. Herdner, Corpus, p. 98, note 2.

[268]Hesiod, Works and Days, 1-2.

[269]Hesiod, Theogony, 1.

[270]Theogony, 104-105.

[271]Theogony, 31-33.

[272]Works and Days, 9-10.

[273]The Iliad I 1-7.

[274]Ullik., Tabl. 1, A II 9-10.

[275]Appu, II 10.

[276]Ullik., Tabl. 2, B I 13.

[277]Kingship, I 30-31.

[278]Telip., 1st version, A I 6-8.

[279]Kingship, I 7-8.

[280]Ullik., 1 C II 22-23.

[281]Telip. and the Ocean, A I 19.

[282]Telip. 1st version, A III 9-10.

[283]Ullik., Tablet 1, A I 8.

[284]Ullik., l. 5.

[285]Kingship, I 13.

[286]Kingship, I 18-19.

[287]Friedrich, HE. I, p. 129.

[288]Disapp. of the Sungod, b I 26.

[289]Telip., 1st version, A I 35.

[290]Telip., 1st version, A I 5.

[291]Appu, IV 17-18.

[292]Illuyanka, recto, A I 21.

[293]Friedrich, HE I, p. 168.

[294]Ullik., Tablet 1, A IV 45-46.

[295]Disapp. of the Sungod, b I 42.

[296]Kingship, I 14, 15.

[297]Tawagalawa, I 58ff.

[298]Telip. 1st version, A IV 8-9.

[299]Appu, I 29-30.

[300]Appu, I 24.

[301]Appu, II 14-15.

[302]Ullik., Tablet 1 III, 33-34.

[303]Telip., 1st version, A II 36-III 2.

[304]Ullik., Tablet 2, B I 19-20.

[305]Appu, II 9-10.

[306]Ullik., Tablet 2, B I 32.

[307]Ullik., Tablet 3, A III 50-51.

[308]Illuyanka, recto, A III 15-16.

[309]Telip. and the Ocean, A I 24-25.

[310]Kingship, I 38-40.

[311]Kingship, I 30.

[312]Kešši, A II 15-17.

[313]Illuyanka, recto, C I 14-15.

[314]Kingship, I 31-33.

[315]Appu, I 38.

[316]Ullik., Tablet 3, IV 13-14.

[317]JCS, Vols. 5, 6.

[318]JCS, 5, p. 13.

[319]Telipinu, 1st version, A I 34.

[320]The Disapp. of the Sungod, b IV 10; Appu, I 6.

[321]Friedrich, HE I, p. 161.

[322]Friedrich, HE I, pp. 154-155.

[323]Kešši, B II 5.

[324]Kingship, I 5.

[325]Telipinu, 1st version, A III 8-9.

[326]Telipinu, 1st version, A I 38.

[327]Ullik., Tablet 3, A III 30-31.

[328]Ullik., Tablet 3, A III 43.

[329]The Disapp. of the Sungod, b I 26-27.

[330]The Disapp. of the Sungod, A I 34-35.

[331]Kingship, I 13-16.

[332]Ullik., Tablet 2, IV 10-11.

[333]Illuyanka, recto, C I 23-24.

[334]Illuyanka, verso, A III 6-7.

[335]The Disapp. of the Sungod, b I 24-25.

[336]Telipinu, 1st version, A I 13-15

[337]The Disapp. of the Sungod, b IV 10-11.

[338]The Disapp. of the Sungod, b I 40-41.

[339]Telipinu, 1st version, A I 10.

[340] Friedrich, HE I, p. 156, par. 308.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER III

[1]Gaster, Tespis, pp. 142-148. Heidel gives a good discussion of the Biblical passages. A. Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, First Phoenix Edition, 1963), pp. 102-114.

[2]Gaster, Thespis, pp. 259, 260.

[3]Gordon, Before the Bible, p. 147.

[4]Ullik., Tablet 1, A IV 37-58; Tablet 2 B I 1-13.

[5]Odyssey, IX 318-566.

[6]Ullik., Tablet 2, B I 29-42; II 1-21.

[7]Anath III 29-50.

[8]Psalm 89:9-11; Job 26:12.

[9]Isaiah 27:1.

[10]Illuyanka, rev. A III 22.

[11]Disapp. of the Sungod, b I 40-41.

[12]Apollodorus, I 6 III 7 ff.

[13]Walter Porzig, "Illuyanka und Typhon", Kleinasiatische Forschungen (1930) I, heft 3 pp. 379-386.

[14]Nonnus, Dionisiaca I, 481 ff. The whole cycle is summarized in Robert Graves, The Greek Myths (Baltimore: Penquin Books, 1955), I, pp. 133-135.

[15]Porzig, KIF I p. 383.

[16]H. Hoffner, "Anatolian Contributions to East Mediterranean Mythology". (Referred to as ACEMM). A paper presented at the Mediterranean Studies Colloquium, Brandeis University, April, 1963, p. 2.

[17]Madduwata, KUB XIV 1 obv. 75-78.

[18]Hoffner, ACEMM, p. 3.

[19]Gilgamesh, Tablet VI, 7.

[20]Gilgamesh, Tablet I, Col. II 1.

[21]Odyssey, V 151-158.

[22]Odyssey, V 135-136.

[23]Odyssey, V 118-120; Hoffner, ACEMM, p. 2.

[24]Illuyanka, reverse, A III 29-30.

[25]Hoffner, ACEMM, p. 3.

[26]Güterbock, Mythologies of the Ancient World, pp. 143-144.

[27]Götze, Kleinasien, p. 143.

[28]H. Otten, "Boğazköy-Texte zu der Vorstellung vom verschwundenen und wiederkehrenden Gott." RAI 3 (1954), p. 68.

[29]Disapp. of the Sungod, b I 29-30.

[30]b I 24.

[31]Telipinu, 1st version, A I 5-14.

[32]Telipinu, 1st version, IV 25-26.

[33]KUB XXV 23; Cat. 301, 1.

[34]KUB XXIV 1, 2; Cat. 282.

[35]KUB XXIV 3; Cat. 283.

[36]H. G. Güterbock, "Gedanken über das Wesen des Gottes Telipinu", Festschrift Johannes Friedrich (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Verlag, 1959), pp. 207-211.

[37]Gaster, Thespis, p. 299.

[38]H. Otten, RAI 3, p. 69.

[39]Güterbock, Mythologies of the Ancient World, p. 144.

[40]Kingship I 13-15.

[41]Text 49 V 9-10; Text 52.

[42]C. Gordon, The Ancient Near East, p. 98.

[43]ANET., pp. 108-109.

[44]Cf., for example, Telipinu, 1st version, A III 22 ff.

[45]The translation "to send after" for appan tarna- is in some doubt. "To hold back, suppress" is now held as a possible meaning acc. to Hoffner. Cf. Friedrich, HW, 2nd fasc., p. 25. This would mean that the Stormgod withheld his rain. Thus it is possible that the myth depicts fearful thunder and lightning which is not accompanied by beneficial and necessary rains.

[46]The Moon Who Fell from Heaven C IV 1-3.

[47]Güterbock, Mythologies of the Ancient World, p. 144.

[48]For the wrath of other epic figures, cf. Gordon, Before the Bible, p. 271.

[49]The beginning of this version is badly broken, but it is generally considered to contain the statement of the god's anger. A version of the "Disappearance of the Stormgod", (KUB XXXIII 15), opens with the statement that the Stormgod was angry at Ašmunikal. The description of the catastrophes is parallel to the first version of the Telipinu myth. A consideration against my argument is the fact that in this version it is stated briefly that the Stormgod went away before the catastrophes are recounted. Otten, Überlieferungen..., pp. 55-56.

[50]Telipinu, 1st version, A I 1-9.

[51]Telipinu, 1st version, A I 10-18.

[52]Telipinu, 1st version, A I 22.

[53]Telipinu, 3rd version, B II 3-10.

[54]Telipinu, 1st version A IV 20-26.

[55]ANET, p. 108.

[56]E. Forrer, "Eine Geschichte des Götterkonigtums aus dem Hatti-Reiche", Mélanges Franz Cumont (1936), pp. 687-713.

[57]H.G. Güterbock, "The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi Myths: Oriental Forerunners of Hesiod", AJA 52 (1948), pp. 123-134.

[58]Albin Lesky, "Griechischer Mythos und Vorderer Orient" Saeculum VI (1955), pp. 35-52.

[59]P. Walcot, "The Text of Hesiod's Theogony and the Hittite Epic of Kumarbi", The Classical Quarterly 6 (1956), pp. 198-206.

[60]P. Walcot, "Hesiod and the Didactic Literature of the Near East", Revue des Études Grecques 75 (1962).

[61]Güterbock, AJA 52, p. 124, note 10.

[62]Güterbock, Kumarbi, fragment d, l. 11, p. 22.

[63]Kingship II 42-43.

[64]Kingship II 71-75.

[65]Güterbock, AJA 52, p. 131.

[66]Güterbock, Kumarbi, p. 104, note 39.

[67]Güterbock, Kumarbi, p. 115.

[68]Kumarbi, pp. 105-109.

[69]KUB IV 1 IV 22,24.

[70]Kingship, I 42.

[71]The texts are collected and translated by C. Clemen, "Die phönikische Religion nach Philo von Byblos", Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-aegyptischen Gesellschaft, 42, 3 (1939), pp. 16-33.

[72]Text 4, ll. 6, 7, 8.

[73]Güterbock, Kumarbi, pp. 110-115.

[74]Appu, II 19-20.

[75]Ullik., Tablet 1, A IV 4-8.

[76]A IV 55-58

[77]Genesis 18:8-9. Gordon, Before the Bible, p. 147.

[78]Genesis 24:33.

[79]Hoffner, ACEMM, pp. 5-8.

[80]Text 76; Gordon, Ugarit and Minoan Crete, p. 88.

[81]Cow and Fisherman, IV 39-40. This part of the standard procedure at the births of Ullikummi and Appu's two sons.

[82]Gordon, Before the Bible, pp. 142-143.

[83]Cow and Fisherman, IV 49-51.

[84]Keššī, II 5-6.

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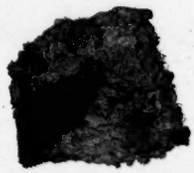

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